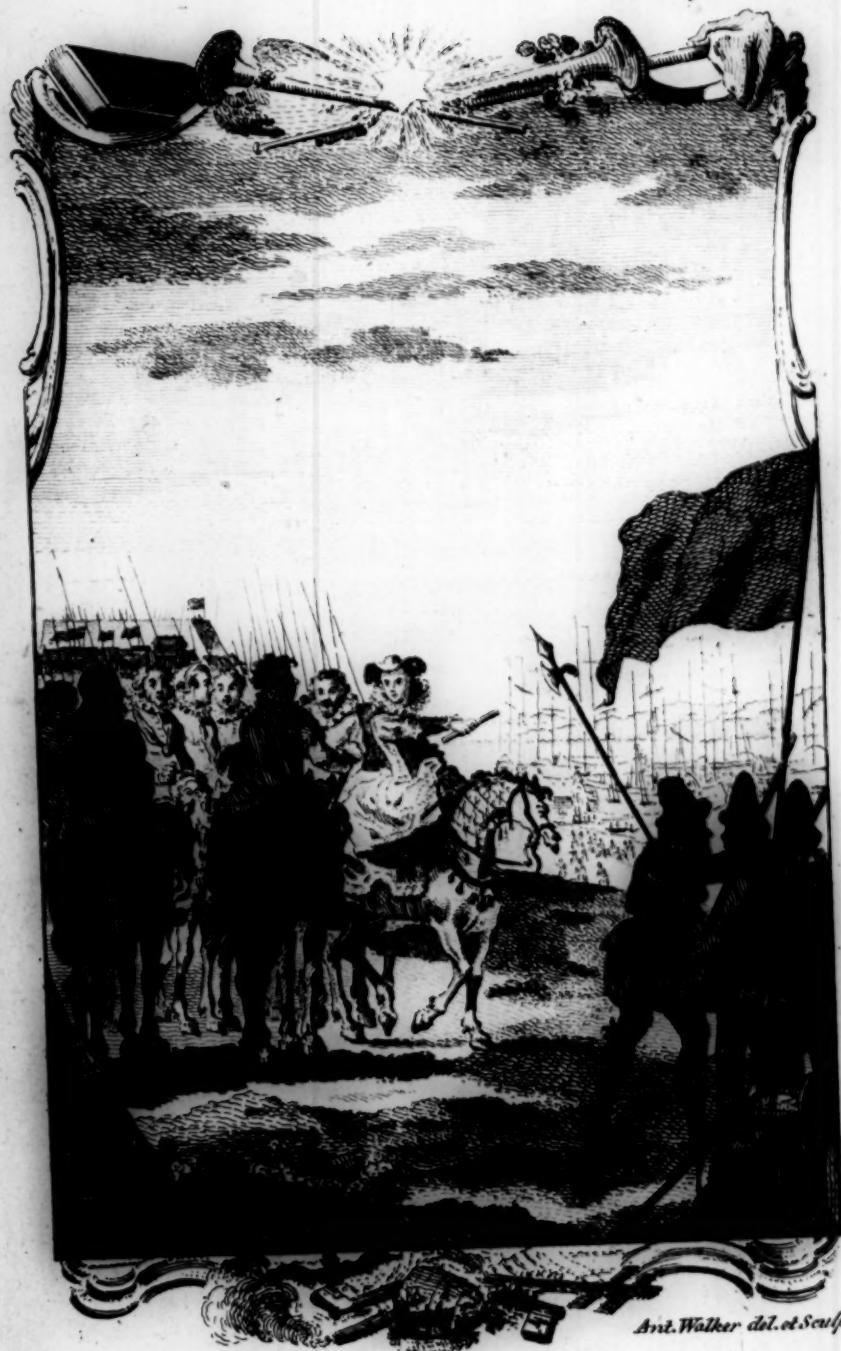
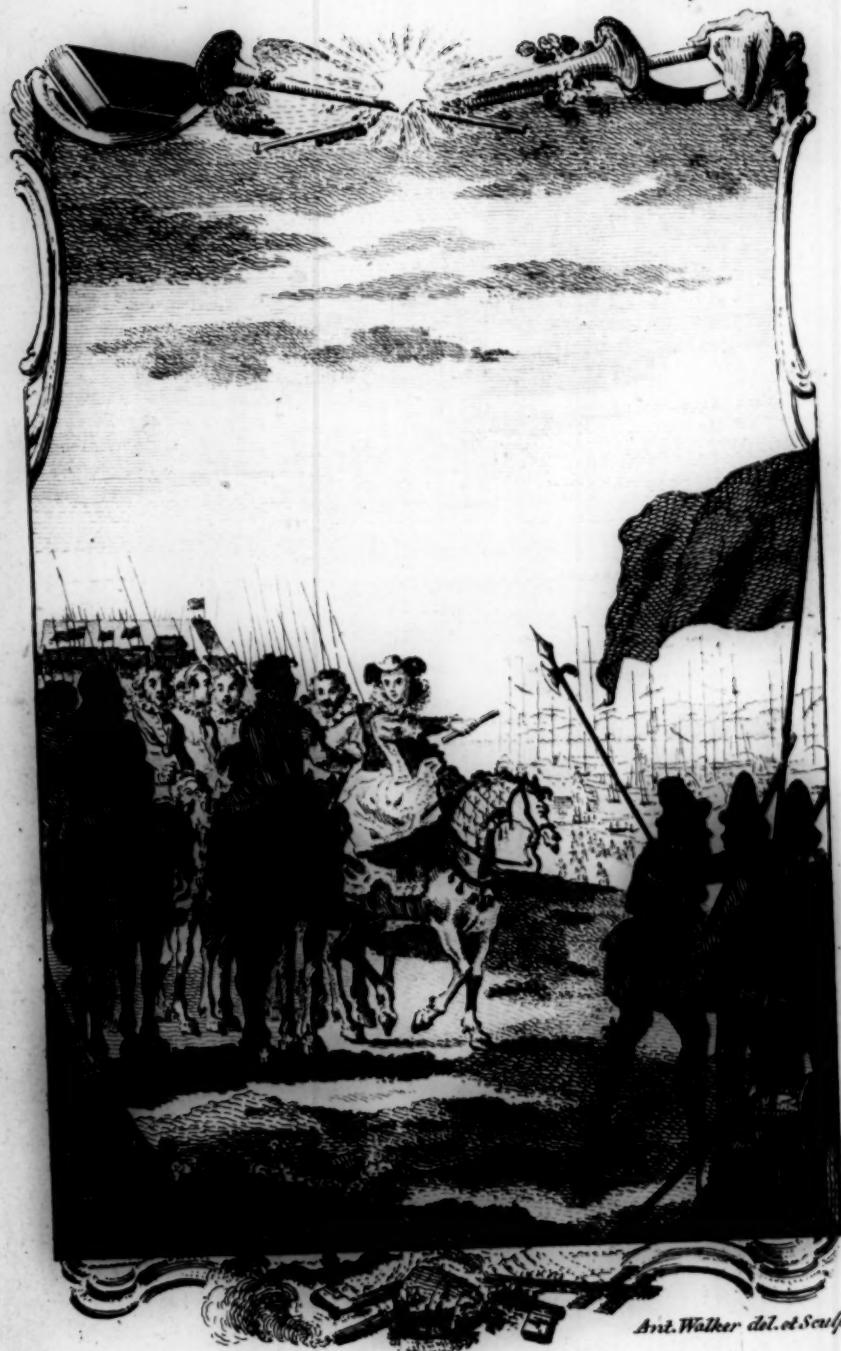


70
Frontispiece to Vol. II.



Ant. Walker del. et Sculp.

70
Frontispiece to Vol. II.



Ant. Walker del. et Sculp.

A NEW
HISTORY
O F
ENGLAND,

From the Time of its
First Invasion by the *Romans*,
Fifty-four Years before the Birth of CHRIST,
To the PRESENT TIME.

C O M P R E H E N D I N G
Its Ancient State under the *Britons*, *Romans*,
Saxons, and *Danes*.

With a particular Account of each Reign, from the
Norman Conquest in 1066, to the Year 1756.

The Whole divided into NINE PARTS, containing
the Grand Periods of the HISTORY.

By an ENGLISHMAN.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. NEWBERY, in St. Paul's Church-Yard;
and W. OWEN, at Temple-Bar.

M,DCC,LVII.

A NEW HISTORY

TO
ENGLAND



A N E W
H I S T O R Y
C F
E N G L A N D.

V O L. II.

The F O U R T H P A R T.

From the Beginning of the Reign of
Henry the Seventh, in 1485, to the
Reign of *James the First*, in 1603.



A N E W
 H I S T O R Y
 O F
E N G L A N D.

VOL. II. →

XIX. HENRY VII, surnamed Richmond, the thirty-ninth King of England, the nineteenth from the Norman Conquest, and the first of the Line of Tudor.

*H*ENRY Earl of *Richmond* was the Descendant of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of King *Edward the Third*. *John of Gaunt* had three Wives: The first was *Blanche of Lancaster*, by whom he had *Henry the Fourth*, whose Male Descendants expired in the Person of *Henry the Sixth*: His second Wife was *Constance Princess of Castile and Leon*, by whom he had *Catharine* married to *Henry the Third King of Castile*, who had a numerous Issue both Male and Female: And his third Wife was *Catharine Roet*, Widow of Sir *Otho Swinford*, by whom he had *John Beaufort Earl of Somerset*, two other Sons, and one Daughter; but, these last Children being born out of Wedlock, their Father afterwards married his Concubine, and got them legitimated by

an Act of Parliament, as also by the subsequent Letters Patent of *Richard the Second*. *John Beaufort* had Issue *John Duke of Somerset*, who had a Daughter named *Margaret*, married to *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, whose eldest Son was *Henry Earl of Richmond*, afterwards King *Henry the Seventh*. *Edmund Tudor* was Son to *Owen Tudor* by *Catharine of France*, Widow of *Henry the Fifth*; which *Owen Tudor* sprang from an original Branch of *Cadwallader*, the last King of the ancient *Britons*, who died in 689: So that *Henry the Seventh* was the Representative of the House of *Lancaster* by his Mother; and esteemed, by the People of *Wales*, as a Prince of their ancient Blood by the Descent of his Father.

DURING the Reigns of *Henry the Fourth* and *Henry the Fifth*, the Princes of the *Beaufort* Branch never assumed the Name of *Lancaster*; because the Parliament made a Distinction between the natural Children, and those born in Marriage: But, towards the End of the Reign of *Henry the Sixth*, *Edmund Duke of Somerset*, Uncle of *Margaret*, asserted his Descent from *John of Gaunt*, and his Kindred to the King, as being of the House of *Lancaster*. *Henry of Richmond*, notwithstanding the Illegitimacy of his Ancestor the Earl of *Somerset*, was looked upon as the *Lancastrian* Heir; upon which Foundation he rested his Title to the Crown; thought he allowed Priority of Right was in the House of *York*; and though there was a Prince of that House still alive, being the Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George Duke of Clarence*, who was stifled in a Butt of Malmsey. However, *Henry* had two other Titles by which he might claim the Crown: The one was his intended Marriage with *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of *Edward the Fourth*, which he had sworn to perform before he undertook the Expedition: And the other was, that of Conquest. But as, in the former Case, he would have relinquished his own, to leave to the House of *York* a Title which had all along been contested: And, as in the latter Case he had the Example of *William the Conqueror* for rejecting the Title of the Sword: He determined to assert the *Lancastrian* Claim as the main Title; and to use the other two as Supporters.

THE

THE Way of *Fortune* is like the *Milky Way* in the Heavens; which is an Assemblage of a Number of small Stars, not seen asunder, but giving Light together: So there are a Number of little and scarce discernible Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs, which make Men fortunate. This was remarkably evident in *Henry the Seventh*, who acquired a Crown with little Difficulty; had it possessed by his Male Issue for four Generations, who, together with himself, enjoyed it 118 Years; and the Descendants of his Female Issue are in the happy Possession of it to this Day. It is reported that *Henry Earl of Richmond*, when he was but nine Years of Age, was presented by the Earl of *Pembroke* to King *Henry the Sixth*; who, steadfastly fixing his Eyes upon the young Prince, foretold, he should one Day mount the Throne, and put an End to the Quarrel of the two Houses. Whether the Prediction was really made or not, by the one *Henry*; the Fact was really accomplished by the other. *England* had fatally experienced a Vicissitude of Successions to her Government: Sometimes the Voice of the People, sometimes that of the Nobles, and sometimes that of God, had given a Title to her Empire: But *Henry the Seventh* endeavoured to consolidate all those different Claims. The Constitution of *England*, by the feodal Law, was calculated to govern the Kingdom with a Standing-Army; of which the King was the Commander in chief, the Barons his Field-Officers, the Knights his Subalterns, and all the other Subjects his common Soldiers. While *England* was employed in foreign Conquests, she was supplied with Manufactures from foreign Countries: The common People were of little Importance in the State, while the Barons were dangerous to the Crown: But *Edward the First* began to introduce a Spirit of Trade, which gradually enriched the People, and made them of Consequence in the Government. *Henry the Seventh* was sensible of the Advantages to be reaped from Commerce and Agriculture, which he was determined to promote, and to raise the middling State of the Subjects, as the only Balance against the dangerous Power of the Barons, whose Numbers were surprizingly diminished during those Civil

Contentions, which had made *England* a Scene of Blood for many Generations. The feudal Constitution received a violent Blow in this Reign, when the Barons were permitted to alienate their Lands, without Fine or Licence: The industrious Commons, who acquired Fortunes by Trade, invested their Money in Land, by making noble Purchases from the Barons, whereby they became Proprietors of the Soil, and broke down the Fence which had so long subsisted between them and the Nobles in Matters of Property. Like a disturbed Stream, the Constitution of *England* began gradually to refine after the Accession of *Henry* the Seventh to the Throne: A System of Order arose from Confusion: The Nation recruited in Strength and Wealth; the King was precluded from acting as a Tyrant; the Barons were restrained under a proper Subjection; and the People were blessed with the most desirable Form of Liberty. The Line of *Cerdic* was still uninterrupted in the female Branch, and the *Saxon* Government was still preserved, notwithstanding all the Weight of the *Norman* Engraftments.

A. D. THE Victory of *Bosworth* having made the Victor
1485. acknowledged a King, by the united Voice of his Army, he was determined to take the best Precautions for securing his Title. He knew that many of his principal Friends were not Enemies to the House of *York*, but only to the Person of *Richard* the Third, who had confined his Nephew the Earl of *Warwick*, the next, and now only surviving Heir Male of that Line, in the Castle of *Sheriff-Hutton* in *Yorkshire*. The House of *York* was a perpetual Terror to *Henry*, notwithstanding he intended to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*: Therefore, he removed the young Earl of *Warwick* to the Tower of *London*; nor could he stifle his Jealousy about him, till this unfortunate Prince was put to Death by the Hand of the Executioner; in which, it has been observed, that *Henry* was still more Tyrant than the Tyrant himself, from whom he boasted to have delivered the Kingdom.

HENRY then set forward to *London*, which he entered with great Magnificence on the 27th of *August*, and was received by the People with the same Acclamations

of Joy as they formerly shewed to his Great Uncle *Henry the Fourth*, who had not done more for the Nation, when the Crown was adjudged to him as a Reward for his Services, in Prejudice to the Earl of *March*; as it was now given to *Henry the Seventh*, in Prejudice of the Earl of *Warwick*.

HENRY assembled a Council, of all the Persons of Distinction in the Court and City, before whom he solemnly renewed his Oath to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*: But he was so jealous that the Parliament should shew the least Favour to the House of *York*, that he was determined not to consummate his Marriage before his Coronation; for fear his Queen should be crowned with him, and her Title supported by that Junction. The Examples of *Edward the Fourth*, and *Richard the Third*, shewed *Henry*, that the best Way to gain the Approbation of the Parliament, was to take Possession of the Crown. Accordingly, he was crowned before the Parliament met; the Ceremony being performed at *Westminster*, on the 30th of *October*, by *Cardinal Bourchier*, *Archbishop of Canterbury*. The same Day *Henry* instituted a Guard of Archers, to attend him and his Successors for ever; which Body is still existing, by the Name of *Yeomen of the Guard*, cloathed in the same Manner, but differently armed.

HENRY was now in the twenty-eighth Year of his Age; being remarkable for his Wisdom, the Gracefulness of his Person, and the Modesty of his Demeanour. *Edward the Fourth* had created a Pofusion of Honours, which rendered Nobility contemptible: But *Henry*, imitating the Example of *Augustus Cæsar*, was very parsimoniouſ in ſuch Promotions; conſidering the Marks of Distinction, as only the juſt Recompence of extraordinary Merit. Indeed, he made the Earl of *Oxford* Conſtable of the Tower of *London*: *Jasper Earl of Pembroke*, his Uncle, Duke of *Bedford*: The Lord *Stanley*, who was married to his Mother, Earl of *Derby*: And Sir *Edward Courtney* was made Earl of *Devonſhire*: But, beſides the Creation of ſix Knights Bannerets, he beſtowed no other Marks of Dignity on his Adherents.

8 A NEW HISTORY

A.D. 1485. THE Parliament met eight Days after the Coronation, and their Deliberations ran upon the following Points.

1. How to pass a constitutional Entail of the Crown :
2. To reverse the Attainder of *Henry's* Party : And,
3. To pass a general Bill of Amnesty, with some few Exceptions. The two last were easily agreed upon : But the first was attended with many Difficulties; because *Henry* would not plead his Right by Conquest, as yet he could not by Marriage, nor at all by Blood. However, as he was in Possession of the executive Power, he buried all Disputes in the general Term of King; and an Act was passed, " whereby the Inheritance of the Crown was to remain in the King, and the Heirs of his Body, perpetually, and in none other." Thus, by not mentioning the House of *York*, the Act left it undetermined whether that House was entirely excluded, or might inherit after the Heirs of the new King; who, notwithstanding this Act of Settlement and Succession made him King *de Facto*, was soon sensible that his Marriage with the Heiress of *York* could alone firmly invest him with Royalty, so as to make him a King *de Jure*.

As the Parliament had committed an Act of Severity, in confiscating the Estates of the Adherents of *Richard*, which brought in immense Wealth to *Henry*; the King passed an Act of Clemency, by offering a general Pardon to all Persons that would submit to his Mercy. His Gratitude for the Assistance he had received from *John Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, made him call that Prelate to his Privy Council; who was afterwards made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor, Prime Minister, and at last Cardinal. But Avarice was the predominant Passion of *Henry*; which influenced even his meaner Actions, and caused him to take many erroneous Steps in his Government.

A.D. 1486. NOTWITHSTANDING the Aversion which *Henry* entertained against the House of *York*, it was necessary to perform his Engagement, and marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was nineteen Years of Age. Accordingly, the Nuptials were solemnized on the 18th of *January*; when the great Rejoicings of the People shewed their Affection for the

the House of *York*; which made *Henry* perceive, that his *A. D.* Wife promoted this Joy more than himself, and consequently that he was thought only King in Right of his Queen: Therefore, he was inspired with such a Coldness for her, that, perhaps, he would have behaved to her as *Edward the Confessor* had formerly done to his Queen, the Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, if the Desire of Children had not caused him to overcome this Aversion; though Queen *Margaret*, as well as her Predecessor Queen *Editha*, was one of the most amiable Ladies of her Age. *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, being both sprung from the Stock of *Edward the Third*, were Cousins in the fourth Degree; but the Pope granted a Dispensation for the Marriage, and confirmed the Act of Settlement.

IN 588, *Edelfrid*, by marrying *Acca* the Daughter of *Ella*, reunited the States of *Bernicia* and *Deira*, which formed the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. In 1100, *Henry the First* married *Maud*, Sister to *Edgar Atheling*; whereby the *Norman* and the *Saxon* Lines were united. And by this Marriage of *Henry the Seventh* and *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Edward the Fourth*, the contending *Roses* were engrafted upon one Stem, and the Union of the two Families of *York* and *Lancaster* were effected.

THOUGH the Pope had confirmed the Title of *Henry*; the *English* People were not now such Bigots, as to imagine a Royal Title could be conveyed by Papal Authority. *Henry* was called into *England* to deliver the Nation from the Tyranny of *Richard the Third*; not entirely to dispossess the House of *York*; in attempting of which, he deceived the Expectation of the People, abused their Confidence, and fomented fresh Dissensions.

THOUGH the Citizens of *London*, and the Inhabitants of the Southern Counties, had testified their Loyalty to *Henry*; he mistrusted the Affections of the People of the Northern Counties, and particularly of *York*: But, to win them to Allegiance, he set out on a Progress to the North. In the mean Time, the Lord *Lovel* raised an Insurrection in *Yorkshire*, where he was at the Head of 3000 Men; while *Humphry* and *Thomas Stafford* were in Arms in *Worcestershire*. *Henry* was then at *York*, where

10 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. he was so fortunate, and so faithfully served, as speedily
1486. to assemble 3000 Men, of whom he gave the Command
to his Uncle the Duke of *Bedford*; who marched against
the Rebels, and suppressed the Insurrection by proclaim-
ing a Pardon to all that would lay down their Arms.
Lovel was so timorous as to desert his Men, and retire to
the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy* in *Flanders*: Upon
which his Men submitted to the royal Clemency. The
two *Staffords*, hearing what passed in the North, raised
the Siege of *Worcester*, and also abandoned their
Troops: But both of them were taken from their Sanc-
tuary at *Colnham*, near *Abingdon*; when *Humphry* was ex-
ecuted at *Tyburn*, and *Thomas* was pardoned.

A. D. *HENRY* was now sensible that his Government was
1487. not securely established: But, that it might be so, he in-
stituted the Court of Star-chamber; under Pretence that
the Channels of Justice were corrupted. This was dan-
gerously dispensing with the ordinary Course of Justice,
and wounding the Liberties of the Subject: For the
Chancellor, Treasurers, and Keeper of the Privy-Seal,
with a Bishop, a Lord of the Council, and two Judges,
were empowered summarily to punish Persons for Milde-
meanors; which discretionary Powers threw down the
sacred Barrier of Juries, and exposed the Freedom of
Englishmen to the Resentment of the Administration.

BUT all the Precautions of the King could not concili-
ate the Affections of his People; who found that he
made a great Distinction between the *Yorkists* and *La-
castrians*. It was reported that the King intended to de-
stroy the Earl of *Warwick*: And it was also rumoured
that the Duke of *York*, Son to *Edward* the Fourth, was
still alive. This gave an Opportunity for one *Richard
Simon*, an *Oxford* Priest, to shake the Throne of a mighty
King, and throw two Kingdoms into Confusion: For *Simon*
had a Pupil named *Lambert Simnel*, who was the Son of
a Baker; but had been educated in such a Manner as to
make him the proper Instrument for personating either the
Duke of *York*, or the Earl of *Warwick*.

IT may be supposed that the Disregard which the
King shewed to his Queen, instigated her Mother, and
the

the principal Friends of the York Family, to encourage *A. D.* *Simon* in his Scheme; who took *Simnel* into *Ireland*, 1487. where the People were devoted to the Interest of the House of York. The young Counterfeit was declared to be the Earl of *Warwick*; in which Character he was presented to the Earl of *Kildare*, and most of the *Irish* Nobility; who treated him like a Prince in the Castle of *Dublin*, proclaiming him King of *England*, and Lord of *Ireland*, by the Name of *Edward* the Sixth.

IN 1314, *John Deydras* pretended to be King *Edward* the Second, and was hanged for his Imposture: In 1400, a Priest named *Maudlin*, disturbed the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, by personating *Richard* the Second; and, after being as powerfully supported as *Simnel* was now, died as a Traitor for his Presumption: But *Simnel* gave more Un-easiness to *Henry* the Seventh, who justly feared that the Flames which began to appear in *Ireland*, would reach *England*; and that there was a secret Correspondence between the *Irish* and *English*. The King apprehended the Queen Dowager had raised this Storm; and the first Step he took towards suppressing it, was the confining her in the Nunnery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and seizing her Estate: Though he pretended to punish her in this Manner for delivering the Princesses, her Daughters, into the Hands of *Richard* the Third; and her Confinement continued till her Death; which greatly exasperated the Adherents of her Family. The true Earl of *Warwick* was publickly shewn in *London* to the People, and afterwards reconducted to the Tower, where his Confinement also continued till his Death: But the *Irish* maintained that this real Earl of *Warwick* was an Impostor shewn by *Henry*; and that the Impostor shewn to them was the real Earl.

THE Insurrection became daily more formidable: The Duchess of *Burgundy* promised to assist the Impostor: And the Earl of *Lincoln* declared in his Favour. The Duchess was Sister of *Edward* the Fourth; and as *Henry* neglected to crown his Queen, her Aunt became his professed Enemy. The Earl of *Lincoln* was Son of *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister of *Edward* the Fourth:

A. D. Fourth: He was declared by *Richard the Third* the pre-
1487. sumptive Heir of the Crown: But *Henry* had defeated all his Hopes; therefore, he took this Opportunity to dethrone him, and embarked for *Flanders*, to concert with the Duchess of *Burgundy* the Means to accomplish this Undertaking. Lord *Bacon*, who wrote the Life of *Henry the Seventh*, gives the Earl of *Lincoln* a great Character for Wit and Courage. This Nobleman knew that *Simmel* was an Impostor; but looked upon the Plan as a well-founded Measure for distressing the Government of *Henry*; and prevailed upon the Duchess of *Burgundy* to send 2000 *Germans* into *Ireland*, commanded by *Martin Swart*, an Officer of great Reputation, who was accompanied there by the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Lovel*.

ON the Arrival of the *German* Troops in *Ireland*, *Simmel* was crowned King, and it was determined to invade *England*: Because his Friends imagined they were in a much better Condition to overthrow *Henry*, than *Henry* himself was when he passed into *England* to overthrow *Richard the Third*. Accordingly, *Simmel*, the Earls of *Lincoln* and *Kildare*, Lord *Lovel*, and the *German* General, with 8000 Men, landed at the Pyle of *Fourdrey* near *Lancaster*, where they were joined by Sir *Thomas Broughton* with a small Body of Men; after which they marched towards *York*: But they were so far from experiencing the Fortune of *Henry* upon his Invasion, that they received no other Assistance than what was brought them by *Broughton*: While the King assembled his Army at *Coventry*, and was joined by most of the Nobility, who were filled with Indignation against the Impostor, and at seeing *German* Mercenaries, with naked *Irishmen*, endeavouring to dethrone a King of *England*.

THE Earl of *Lincoln* was determined to give Battle to the King, who was equally inclined to fight, and both Armies met at *Stoke*, near *Newark upon Trent*, in *Nottinghamshire*, on the 20th of *June*, when a Battle ensued. The Royalists consisted of about 12000 Men, and the Rebels were about 8000: But as the *Germans* were well disciplined, their Example inspired the *Irish* with Courage: So that the Battle continued three Hours, before the King could

could reap the Victory. The Rebels had 4000 Men killed A. D. on the Spot ; among whom were the Earl of *Lincoln*, the 1487. Earl of *Kildare*, and the *German* General: But the Battle was disputed with so much *Obstinacy*, that the King lost 3000 Men; so that his Garland was dipt in Blood. *Simmel*, and the *Priest* his *Instructor*, were among the Prisoners: But *Henry* spared both their Lives; because, putting the former to Death would make him appear of too much *Importance*; and *Henry* hoped to make a *Discovery* of the whole *Conspiracy* from the latter. *Simmel* was at first made *Turnspit* in the royal Kitchen, and afterwards *Falconer* to the King; whose *Policy* induced him to punish this *Shadow* of *Royalty* with *Contempt*, rather than *Severity*.

AFTER this Victory, the King marched to *York*, and punished several suspected Persons with heavy *Fines*; which occasioned *Lord Bacon* to say, that his *Progres* was more like an *itinerary Circuit of Justice*, than the *Progress* of a King to visit his Countries. At this Time, *Henry* entered into a *Negotiation* with *James* the *Third King of Scotland*; whereby it was agreed, that *James* should marry *Elizabeth*, *Widow* of *Edward* the *Fourth*, and *Mother* to the *Queen of England*: But the *Scotch Nobility* professed their *Disapprobation* of the Match, took *Arms* against their *Sovereign*, defeated, and murdered him in the *Field*.

HENRY returned to *London* in *November*, where he made a *triumphant Entry*; and, as his *Progres* in the *North* had convinced him, that his *Prejudice* to the *House of York* was the *main Spring* of such *Discontent* among the *People*, he resolved on the *Coronation* of his *Queen*, which was performed on the 25th of *November*.

CHARLES the *Eighth*, King of *France*, had made *War* against the *Duke of Bretagne*, with intent to deprive him of his *Dominions*. *Henry* offered his *Mediation*; which was rejected by the *Duke*: However, *Henry* endeavoured to make his *Parliament* sensible of the *Necessity* of aiding *Bretagne*; though it was only to obtain a *Subsidy*, which he never applied to the *Support* of the

op-

oppressed Prince; notwithstanding the Parliament advised him to undertake his Defence.

A. D. 1488. *HENRY* acted so contradictory to the Sentiments of his Parliament, that, instead of assisting the Duke of *Bretagne*, he concluded a Truce with the King of *France*, who defeated the Duke at the Battle of *St. Aubin*; wherein *Edward Lord Woodville*, Uncle to the Queen of *England*, was slain, with 400 *Englishmen*, who accompanied him to the Assistance of *Bretagne*.

IN the mean Time, *Henry* collected the Subsidy granted for the Relief of *Bretagne*, with great Severity; which occasioned an Insurrection in *Yorkshire* and *Derbyshire*; when the Earl of *Northumberland* was killed by the Mob, for demanding the Subsidy. The Mutineers, with Sir *John Egremont* and *John à Chamber* at their Head, publickly declared they were marching to *London* to give the King Battle, who sent a Body of Troops, under the Earl of *Surry*, to oppose them; preparing to follow him in Person, with more considerable Forces: But *Surry* dispersed the Rebels, and took *John à Chamber* Prisoner, who was hanged at *York*, with twelve of his Accomplices.

THE Duke of *Bretagne*, being unassisted by the neighbouring Princes, whose Interest it was to prevent the Annexion of his Duchy to the Kingdom of *France*, concluded a Peace with the *French* Monarch at *Coyron*, and died soon after; being succeeded by *Anne*, his eldest Daughter, who was about twelve Years of Age. The King of *England* declared, that he considered the Interest of the young Orphan-Duchess as his own, and seemed to prepare to assist her in Earnest: So that a Treaty was concluded between them; whereby the King was to assist her with 6000 Men, and the Duchess was not to marry without his Consent.

A. D. 1489. *THE English Succours* set sail from *Portsmouth*, and arrived in *Bretagne* in the Month of *March*: But a Treaty was entered into with *France*, and *Henry's* Troops returned to *England*. The Duchess, without the Privity of *Henry*, married *Maximilian King of the Romans* by Proxy; though, at the same Time, she sent Ambassadors

to *Henry*, desiring further Assistance, and assuring him A.D. she would never marry without his Consent. *Henry* 1489. thought to intimidate the *French* Monarch, by entering into Negotiations with several Princes: So that *Charles* had Reason to fear a League was forming against him, as might obstruct not only the Conquest of *Bretagne*, but also that of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he had much at Heart.

THE *French* Monarch sent Ambassadors to *Henry*, to solicit a Peace; informing him of his Intentions to make War upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, unjustly detained from him by a Bastard of the House of *Arragon*: To which he replied, That as the *French* King thought himself bound in Honour to recover *Naples*; so, for the same Reason, *Henry* thought himself obliged to exert himself to his utmost for the Recovery of *Guienne*, *Normandy*, and the Kingdom of *France* itself, which of Right belonged to him. The *French* Ambassadors answered, that they doubted not but their Sovereign's Sword would be able to maintain his Sceptre; and their Sovereign still imagined that *Henry* intended only to frighten him; so that *Charles* pursued his Course with respect to *Bretagne*, and obtained by Peace what he could not get by War.

THE *Duchess* of *Bretagne* sent Ambassadors to the A.D. King of *England*, to notify her Marriage with the King 1491. of the *Romans*. *Henry* was so far from seeming disgusted, that he entered into a League with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and *Maximilian*, to invade *France*: Though all this tended only to make a great Noise, in order to deter the *French* Monarch from his Design to conquer *Bretagne*; which he easily discovered; and, being now acquainted with the Marriage of the *Duchess*, he resolved to use no more Ceremony, but vigorously hasten the Conquest of her *Duchy*. He besieged her in her capital City of *Rennes*; and, by corrupting her Counsellors, prevailed upon her to forsake *Maximilian*, and marry himself; whereby *Bretagne* became for ever annexed to the Crown of *France*. This Marriage highly offended *Henry*, who thereby lost the Fruit of his avaricious Policy in not seasonably assisting *Bretagne*: He immediately issued

A. D. 1491. Ded out Orders to levy Troops, and prepare Transports; intimating that he would tread in the Steps of *Edward the Third*, and *Henry the Fifth*, so as not to think of Rest till he had forced the Crown of *France* from the House of *Valois*: But his Success was very different from that of his glorious Predecessors.

A. D. 1492. THE French Monarch was now threatened with the Storm of War that was gathering in *England*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*. *Henry* acquainted his Parliament of his Resolution to recover *France*, which he called the Inheritance of his Ancestors. The Parliament took Fire, and granted him a very considerable Sum; which, pursuant to his Desire, was to be levied upon the Rich, by the Name of Benevolence; a Sort of Tax introduced by *Edward the Fourth*, without Consent of Parliament, abolished by *Richard the Third*, and now revived by Authority of Parliament: Whereby it may be perceived, that what is once practised for the Utility of a Prince, and brought to a Precedent by Matter of Record, may be turned to the great Prejudice of the People, if it is so adjudged by Rulers in Authority.

HENRY, after sending 2500 Men to assist the Archduke against the Revolters of *Ghent*, sent Ambassadors to the King of *Spain*, and the King of the *Romans*, to invade *France* according to their Engagements: But the former had Power without Will; and the latter Will without Power. *Henry* pretended Ignorance of these Things, and seemed to have great Dependance on these Allies: While he knew that the Conquest of *France* would be a difficult Task; as that Kingdom was now at Unity with itself. However, he foresaw that the Defection of his Allies would afford him a plausible Excuse, to desist from a War he was undertaking with such great Preparation.

THE King of *England* delayed the Invasion of *France*, till it was too late to begin a Campaign: For, having constituted his eldest Son *Arthur*, Prince of *Wales*, Guardian to the Realm, he embarked at *Dover* on the 2^d of November, and arrived the same Day at *Calais*, where his whole Army amounted to 25000 Foot, and 1600 Horse. As soon as he landed, he received Intelligence that

that the King of the *Romans* was not able to assist him; A.D. and that the King of *Spain* had concluded a Treaty of 1492. Friendship with *France*. Indeed, *Henry* knew this before he left *England*; and it is reasonable to imagine, that before he embarked he had agreed upon a Peace with the *French* Monarch, who had a numerous Army on Foot; and, though he was well apprized of the Invasion, he sent no Forces to oppose it, or stop the Progress of *Henry*.

COMMISSIONERS were immediately appointed by both Monarchs to treat of a Peace; while *Henry*, to discourage his Troops, pretended to besiege *Boulogne*, at such an unseasonable Time of the Year: Though, eight Days after the Town was invested, a Peace was concluded, and ratified at *Estatles*. But it was more like a Truce, than a Treaty; for no Mention was made of the Right which *Henry* claimed to *France*, and on which he founded the War: The *French* Monarch was to pay *Henry* for the Troops he sent into *Bretagne*; as also the Arrears of the yearly Pension of 50,000 Crowns paid by *Lewis* the Thirteenth to *Edward* the Fourth: Besides, though it was called a Treaty of Peace, it was to expire with the Lives of the two Kings; and the Successor of him that died first was to ratify it within a Year after his Accession to the Crown. Thus ended this Shadow of War; which answered the Intentions of *Henry*, as he procured Aids from his Subjects, without applying them to their intended Use: But, while he enriched himself at Home, he hurt his Kingdom abroad, by suffering *Bretagne* to be lost, to the irreparable Damage of *England*; because her Alliance with *Bretagne* gave her an Advantage over *France*, which she could never after recover.

HENRY, having concluded this pecuniary Treaty, A.D. returned to *England*; where he thought himself secure 1493. from any Attempts to restore the House of *York*: But the Duchess Dowager of *Burgundy*, though she had miscarried in the Affair of *Lambert Simnel*, was resolved to raise up another Impostor to shake the Throne of *Henry*. She had never ceased to spread a Report, that *Richard* Duke of *York*, second Son to *Edward* the Fourth, had escaped

A. D. escaped the Cruelty of his Uncle *Richard the Third*, and 1493 was still alive. She got one *Perkin Warbeck*, Son of *John Osbeck*, a Jewish Convert of *Tournay*, who had long lived at *London*, to personate the young Duke of *York*; in the same Manner as *Lambert Simnel* had personated the Earl of *Warwick*, who was still confined in the Tower of *London*. *Edward the Fourth* was Godfather to this *Perkin*; who was so handsome, and endowed with Qualities so far above his Birth, that he was suspected to be an illegitimate Son of the Monarch. The Duchess instructed him how to behave according to the Character he was to assume, by relating to him every Thing that it could be supposed the Duke of *York* was capable of knowing: She also taught him how to put on the Air and Character of a well-bred Prince; so that *Perkin* soon got the Appearance of Dignity, as if he had been born and educated in a Palace.

THE Duchess had sent *Perkin* to *Portugal*, where he lived privately for a Year; and then, by her Orders, embarked for *Ireland*, arrived at *Cork*, and called himself Duke of *York*, just as the War broke out between *England* and *France*. The French Monarch invited him into *France*, and received him as the Duke of *York*, which was instrumental to him in obtaining the Peace: But after this, he dismissed him his Court, and *Perkin* went into *Flanders* to the Duchess of *Burgundy*.

THE Duchess, at first, pretended he was an Impostor; but soon acknowledged him for her Nephew; assigning him a Guard of thirty Halberdiers, and giving him the Title of *the white Rose*, the Badge of the House of *York*. This satisfied the Court of *Burgundy*, that *Perkin* was the real Duke of *York*; from whence the Rumour spread throughout all the *Low Countries*, and at last over all *Europe*: But it created great Ferments in *England*, where it was readily credited by an infinite Number of People, some of whom were dissatisfied with the King, and others greedy of Novelty. The King was now convinced of his great Danger from the *Yorkists*: For his unnecessary Taxes, the Loss of *Bretagne*, the late Peace with *France*, and the uncivil Usage which his Queen and the whole House

House of *York* had received, made his Subjects very A. D.
uneasy.

1493.

THE avaricious Temper of *Henry* had also alienated several of his firmest Friends, to his Person, and the House of *Lancaster*; particularly *William Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain, Brother to the Earl of *Derby*, *John Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Robert Clifford*, Sir *Simon Montford*, and others, who formed a Conspiracy to dethrone the King. The Conspirators gave out that *Perkin* was the real Duke of *York*; and the King endeavoured to undeceive the People, by proving him an Impostor. *Tyrrel* and *Dighton*, who were ordered by *Richard the Third* to put his two Nephews to Death, being still alive, were apprehended, and sent to Prison; where they were examined, and acknowledged the Murder of the two Princes: After which, *Dighton* was released; but *Tyrrel* was continued in Confinement, and afterwards executed.

THIS Method was insufficient to deceive the People; therefore, the King applied himself chiefly to discover who the Impostor *Perkin* really was; in which he succeeded, and sent Ambassadors to the Archduke *Philip* to deliver *Warbeck* into his Hands. The Archduke refused to comply with this Request; upon which the King broke off all Commerce with *Flanders*, appointed *Calais* to be the Place for all *English* Merchandise, and banished the *Flemings* out of *England*; this Example being followed by the Archduke, who banished all the *Englishmen* out of *Flanders*.

IN the mean Time, *Henry* gained Sir *Robert Clifford* to his Interest, who betrayed the other Conspirators; whereupon, the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Simon Montford*, and others, were tried, and executed for High-Treason, in adhering, and promising Aid to *Perkin*.

AFTER the Discovery of this Conspiracy, *England* was A. D. very quiet during the Year 1494; and *Henry* had an Opportunity of settling the Affairs in *Ireland*, which had been hitherto much neglected. He appointed Sir *Edward Poynings* Deputy of that Kingdom, who made a Law, that all the Statutes of *England* concerning the Public should be observed in *Ireland*; and another, whereby it was ordained, that the Parliament of *Ireland* should

1494.

A. D. should not be assembled before the Lord Lieutenant and 1494 Council had acquainted the King with the Reasons, and obtained the royal Licence under the Great Seal. The King sent a general Pardon for all the *Irish* Rebels, to prevent them giving any further Assistance to the House of *York*: But, at the same Time, he extorted large Sums from private Persons in *England*, by Forfeitures on penal Laws, on purpose to fill his Coffers; and, what was considered as the worst of all, he ordered Sir *William Stanley* to be beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, for being concerned with the Lord *Fitz-Walter*, and the other Conspirators; though it was imagined the Lord Chamberlain fell a Sacrifice rather to the Avarice of the King, than to the Justice of the Kingdom; because he was so immensely rich, that his Substance promised the King a plentiful Confiscation; notwithstanding Sir *William* had principally contributed, at the Battle of *Bosworth*, to put *Henry* upon the Throne; besides, that he was Brother to the Earl of *Derby*, a zealous Servant, and Father-in-law of the King. The Execution of the Lord Chamberlain terrified the whole Kingdom; because he was condemned for only preferring the Title of *York* to that of *Lancaster*, which, though considered as a heinous Crime by the King, was not esteemed criminal at all by the People; who were afraid of speaking their Sentiments; but five Persons were executed for dispersing Libels against the Judges, the Council, and the King himself.

A. D. 1495 *HENRY* made a Progress into *Lancashire*; and the Duchess of *Burgundy* sent over *Perkin Warbeck* from *Flanders*, with some Forces and Ships, to make a Descent in *Kent*; where he sent some People on Shore to sound their Inclinations, being justly afraid to trust himself in their Hands: But the *Kentishmen* cut those who landed in Pieces, except about 150, who were taken alive, and hanged by order of the King. However, *Perkin*, on his Return to *Flanders*, was sent into *Ireland* to raise a Rebellion; and was also strongly recommended to the King of *Scotland* for his Protection: So that, finding *Ireland* too well secured by *Poynings*, he departed for *Edinburgh*, where he met with a kind Reception from the *Scotch* Monarch;

who

who publickly acknowledged him for Duke of *York*, and A. D. gave him in Marriage, *Catharine Gordon*, Daughter of 1495. the Earl of *Huntley*, one of the handsomest and most accomplished Ladies in *Scotland*.

KING *Henry* and the Archduke *Philip* renewed the A. D. Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Flanders*: While 1496. the King of *Scotland* undertook to place *Perkin Warbeck* on the *English* Throne; but, finding the *English* would not rise in his Favour, he ravaged *Northumberland*, and withdrew his Army into his own Country. *Henry* was afraid of retaliating the Injury, and strove to drive *Warbeck* out of *Scotland* by Stratagem, rather than by Force; sending Ambassadors to the *Scotch* Monarch to treat of a Marriage between that Prince, and his eldest Daughter *Margaret*; which afterwards took Effect; and, in the Year 1603, was the Means of introducing the royal Family of *Scotland* to the Throne of *England*. However, *Henry* procured a Subsidy from his Parliament, as if he was undertaking a War against *Scotland*; though he was only desirous of continuing in Peace, that he might put this Subsidy into his Coffers, as he had done that granted for the Defence of *Bretagne*: Which occasioned *Lord Bacon* to observe, "that the Wars of *Henry* were always to him a Mine of Treasure of a strange Ore, Iron at the Top, and Gold and Silver at the Bottom."

THE King ordered his Commissioners to levy the new A. D. Subsidy with such Severity, as to raise a Rebellion in 1497. *Cornwall*, headed by *Thomas Flammock* a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Farrier of *Bodmin*; who said, they took up Arms only with a View of presenting a Petition to the King, to pray him to desist from this Tax, and punish his evil Counsellors, for a Warning to others who gave him such Advice for the future. *Flammock* and *Joseph* seemed to bring as much Danger against King *Henry*, as *Tyler* and *Straw* brought against *Richard the Second* on a similar Occasion: They also led their Mutineers, consisting of 16000 Men, towards *Kent*; and likewise encamped on *Blackbeath*; being joined by *Lord Audley*, who was accepted as their General. The King permitted them to approach so far without Interruption; but now sent an Army

A. D. my against them, commanded by *John de Vere Earl of Oxford*, and the Lord *d'Aubigny*; who defeated them; while the King encamped with another Body of Troops in *St. George's Fields*, to secure the City of *London*. The Rebels had 2000 Men slain on the Spot, and the rest surrendered at Discretion; being surrounded, and their Escape prevented. But the King acted with great Clemency; only causing the Lord *Audley* to be beheaded on *Tower-Hill*; and *Flamrock* and the Farrier to be executed at *Tyburn*; when the latter comforted himself, that he should be a remarkable Man in After-Ages, for being so instrumental in such a Rebellion. The other Prisoners were left to compound for their Ransoms with the Captors: So that the King was satisfied with these three Victims, for the Extirpation of this great Commotion.

WHILE *Henry* was thus employed against the Rebels in the *South*, the King of *Scotland* made a second Irruption into the *North*: But the Earl of *Surry*, at the Head of 20,000 Men, obliged him to retire, and pursued him into *Scotland*. However, by the Mediation of *Don Pedro d'Ayala*, the Spanish Ambassador at *London* for concluding a Marriage between *Arthur Prince of Wales* and the Princess *Catharine of Arragon*, a Peace was soon negociated: Though, before it was concluded, *Perkin Warbeck* was dismissed from the Protection of *Scotland*, and sent with his Wife over to *Ireland*; after which, the Peace was ratified, or rather the Truce was prolonged till a Year after the Death of the Survivor of the two Princes.

A. D. THOUGH *Henry* had nothing to fear from abroad, as 1498. he was at Peace with all *Europe*; yet the *Cornish Rebels*, who had compounded for two or three Shillings a Man, were so far from being discouraged with their late Defeat, or affected with the royal Clemency, renewed their Dissensions, and sent for *Perkin Warbeck* over from *Ireland*, who accepted the Invitation, and arrived at *Whit-sand-bay* in *September*, with about 100 Men, in four small Vessels. He assembled about 3000 Men at *Bodmin*; where he assumed the Title of King of *England*, and the Name of *Richard the Fourth*: After which, he entered

Devonshire,

Devonshire, and besieged *Exeter*; where he scaled the ^{A. D.} Walls, but miscarried in the Assault, with the Loss of 1498. 200 Men. The King would not wait for the Rebels now, as he had done before: Therefore, the Lord *d'Aubigny* was sent to the Relief of *Exeter*; which obliged *Perkin* to fly to *Taunton*, from whence he privately fled to, and took Sanctuary in *Bewley* Monastery in the new Forest; while his Army, which was augmented to 6000 Men, submitted to the Mercy of King *Henry*, who again pardoned them all, except a few Ringleaders, whom he hanged for Example for the rest. *Perkin's* Wife fell into the Hands of the King, who used her very honourably; but punished those Prisoners with heavy Fines, who had lately obtained his Pardon. He then offered to pardon *Perkin* if he would quit the Sanctuary; which Offer he readily embraced; and, after some Indignities, was confined in the Tower of *London*, where he was privately examined, and his Confession was published, declaring who he really was.

PERKIN escaped from the *Tower*; but was soon ^{A. D.} retaken, and confined there again; when he prevailed 1499. upon the Earl of *Warwick* to enter into a Plot with him for the Recovery of both their Liberties: But their Plot was discovered; and the King, to free himself from all his Uneasinesses at once, resolved to put to Death both the real and the pretended Heir to the Throne. *Perkin* was tried by a Jury, condemned, and hanged: The Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned before the House of Peers, when he confessed that he consented to escape; upon which he was sentenced to lose his Head for conspiring the Death of the King, and the Sentence was executed on *Tower-Hill*. Thus died the Earl of *Warwick*, in the Twenty-fourth Year of his Age, after having been fifteen Years a Prisoner; for no other Crime than being of the Blood-Royal of the House of *York*: And thus died *Perkin Warbeck*, after having several Years most inimitably counterfeited the Character of another Prince of the *York* Line. The former was the Son of *George Duke of Clarence*, and the last Heir Male of the House of *York*: But the latter, at the Place of Execution, confessed the Meanness

A. D. ness of his Parentage; though he had been acknowledged 1499. for lawful King in *Ireland, France, Flanders, England, Scotland*, and made *Henry* shake on his Throne. However, to abate the Horror of this Cruelty, King *Henry* caused it to be published, that *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* would not consent to the Marriage of his Daughter *Catharine* with Prince *Arthur*, so long as the Earl of *Warwick* was alive; and, as the Princess was to bring 200,000 Crowns of Gold for her Dowry, *Henry* was now more inclinable to dip his Hands in Blood, than let the Gold escape through his Fingers: For the Marriage was about the same Time solemnized by Proxy.

A. D. THE Pope proposed to King *Henry* the Undertaking 1500. of a Crusade against the *Turks*; but the Project came to nothing: Though the King expressed himself so well upon this Occasion, that the Knights of *Rhodes* elected him for Protector of their Order; imagining there was no Prince in *Europe* more zealous than himself for Religion.

THE Reputation of *Henry* kept his Neighbours in Awe, and his Subjects in Obedience: But a new Storm was gathering against him, while he thought nothing was capable of disturbing his Quiet. *Edmund de la Pole*, Son of *Elizabeth*, the eldest Sister to King *Edward* the Fourth, by *John de la Pole* Duke of *Suffolk*, her second Husband, quarrelled with a Man, and had the Misfortune to kill him. The King forgave him, on Condition that he openly pleaded his Pardon; which the Earl looked upon as a great Ignominy, and retired into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Duchess of *Burgundy*, who was grown old, and tired with so many fruitless Attempts to dethrone *Henry*; so that the King easily prevailed upon the Earl to return to *England*, and enjoy the Benefit of his Pardon, which he turned to a very bad Purpose.

CATHARINE of *Arragon*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, came into *England*, and her Marriage with *Arthur* Prince of *Wales* was solemnized on the 14th of November: But, as the Prince was only sixteen Years of Age, and died at *Ludlow-Castle* five Months after his Marriage, it was questioned whether ever it was consummated; because, the King was unwilling to part with the

the Dowry of the Princess, whom he afterwards married A. D. to his second Son *Henry*, who immediately succeeded ^{1502.} his Brother *Arthur* as Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards succeeded his Father as King of *England*.

THE Contract for the Marriage of *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Henry*, with *James* King of *Scotland*, was ^{1501.} finally agreed upon, and the next Year the Marriage was consummated: though, before the Contract was signed, the King was advised that this Marriage might one Day place a *Scotch* Sovereign on the Throne of *England*: Whereupon the King replied, that, if this should be the Case, *Scotland* would be annexed to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*; which fell out accordingly, 101 Years afterwards, when *James* the 1st. united the two Crowns.

ELIZABETH, the Queen of King *Henry*, died on A. D. the 11th of *February*, in Child-bed, little lamented by ^{1503.} her Husband, who never loved her, though she was a very amiable Wife.

THOUGH *England* was blest with a general Tranquillity, its Inhabitants were oppressed by the insatiable Avarice of their King, who was continually seeking new Ways to heap up Riches, for which he had no Occasion. Sir *Richard Empson*, and *Edmund Dudley*, two Lawyers, were his infamous Ministers for this Purpose; who caused many rich People to be indicted of several Crimes; and, when the Bills were found by the Grand Jury, committed them, without a Trial, and confined them till they desired to compound with the King. They also proceeded without observing any form of Justice, by summarily condemning People in large Fines, without calling any Juries: Or, if Juries were called, the Jurors were obliged to act as these execrable Judges directed; who charged the Subjects Lands with Tenures in *Capite*, and oppressed them with many other Grievances.

NEITHER Rich nor Poor, Friend or Foe, escaped from feeling the Rigour so shamefully exerted by *Empson* and *Dudley*, in the Name, and by the Authority of the King; which bred such great Discontent and Mur-

A. D. 1503. murs among the People, that the Earl of *Suffolk* per-
suaded several Lords and Gentlemen, to promise to support him in his Views of seizing the Crown at a proper Season, and then retired again into *Flanders*, from whence he made his Friends expect a powerful Aid, by Means of the Duchess of *Burgundy*. But the King discovered the Accomplices of the Earl, and had the Principal of them seized ; being *William Courtney*, Son to the Earl of *Devonshire* ; *William de la Poole*, Brother to the Earl of *Suffolk* ; Sir *James Tyrrel*, and Sir *John Windham*. *Tyrrel*, against whom the Blood of *Edward the Vth*, and the Duke of *York*, cried for Vengeance, was beheaded with *Windham* his Accomplice ; and some other inferior Persons were executed for High-Treason : But the King was contented with detaining *Courtney*, and *de la Poole* in Prison ; while the Earl of *Suffolk* continued in *Flanders*, till he was delivered into the Hands of the King, by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*.

As King *Henry* had received 100,000 Crowns, Part of the Portion of the Princess *Catharine*, he was so unwilling to return it, that he prevailed upon the Spanish Monarch to marry his Daughter to *Henry* the Prince of *Wales* ; for which a Dispensation was procured from the Pope, though the Prince was only Twelve Years of Age ; but the Marriage was not solemnized till 1509, and was attended with very important Consequences in the following Reign.

A. D. 1506. *PHILIP*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and *Jane* his Wife, Sister to the Princess *Catharine*, the Widow of Prince *Arthur*, assumed the Title of King and Queen of *Castile*, on the Death of Queen *Isabella*, her Mother : But, as they were passing by Sea, from *Flanders* to *Spain*, they were drove by a Storm on the Coast of *England*, and with great Difficulty landed at *Weymouth* ; from whence they were invited by King *Henry* to *Windsor*, where they were received with great Magnificence. *Henry* prevailed upon *Philip*, to conclude a new Treaty of Commerce, whereby the Privilege formerly granted to the *Flemings* of Fishing on the Coast of *England* was suppressed : He also entered into another Treaty, relating

ing to a Marriage between King *Henry*, and *Margaret*, A. D. Widow of the Duke of *Savoy*, Sister to *Philip*; though ^{1506.} the Marriage was never solemnized: And *Philip* was also persuaded to deliver up the Earl of *Suffolk* to *Henry*, on Condition that he would not touch his Life; but the Earl was sent Prisoner to the Tower of *London*; after which, *Philip* and his Queen left *England*, and pursued their Voyage to *Spain*.

PHILIP died as soon as he came in Possession of A. D. the Crown of *Castile*, and his Death so much affected ^{1507.} his Queen, as to deprive her of her Reason: Whereupon *Ferdinand*, her Father, resumed the Administration of Affairs, and her Son *Charles* was left to the Guardianship of *Lewis* the Twelfth, King of *France*: But the King of *England* entered into a Treaty for the Marriage of the Arch-Duke *Charles*, with the Princess *Mary*, which was soon after solemnized by Proxy.

HENRY was now grown so absolute in his King- A. D. dom, that no Man durst oppose his Will, or even shew ^{1508.} the least Discontent; though he was never satisfied with heaping up Money, by the Extortions and Oppressions of *Empson* and *Dudley*; having by these shameful Proceedings amassed 1,800,000l. Sterling; which was more than double the Value in present Money; a Pound of Gold being then coined into 20l. 16s. 8d. which is now coined into 48l.

BUT the King was now seized with the Gout, which A. D. fell upon his Lungs, and turned to a Pthisick. He found ^{1509.} he daily grew worse, and prepared himself for Death, by granting a general Pardon; and, by his Will, ordering that his Heir should make Restitution of whatever his Officers and Ministers had unjustly taken from his Subjects. He died at *Richmond* in *Surry*, on the 22nd of *April* 1509; having lived Fifty-two Years, and reigned Twenty-three Years and Eight Months.

HE had Issue by *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, four Sons: *Arthur*, who died in 1502; *Henry*, who succeeded him in the Throne; *Edmund*, who died at Five Years old; and *Edmund*, who died soon after he was born. He had also four Daugh-

A. D. ters ; two of whom died in their Infancy ; *Margaret*,
1509. married to the King of *Scotland* ; and *Mary*, who was married by Proxy to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Prince of *Castile* ; but, as the Marriage was not consummated, she was married to *Lewis* the Twelfth King of *France*, and afterwards to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*.

AMBITION, Honour, Glory, Love, Pleasures, and all the other Passions which generally disquiet the Hearts of Princes, made but little Impression upon *Henry* the Seventh ; who was content with enjoying his Crown, without thinking of new Acquisitions, or of rendering his Name illustrious by great Actions. Though Sir *Francis Bacon* observes, that his Time excelled for good Common-wealth Laws ; so that he may justly be celebrated for the best Law-giver to this Nation, after King *Edward* the First. He was formidable to his Subjects, but never beloved ; and his Address in suppressing Commotions at Home, made him respected Abroad ; though, he was so much inclined to Peace, that he would suffer great Insults rather than undertake a War. His Council was almost wholly composed of Churchmen and Lawyers, who never opposed his Will ; and the King, instead of increasing the Credit of the Nobility, took all possible Care to lessen it. He advanced the Condition of the middling People, in making Farms, and Houses of Husbandry, of a Standard ; that is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land, as might breed a Subject to live in convenient Plenty, and no servile Condition ; whereby the Plough was kept in the Hands of the Owners, and not of meer Hirelings. He promoted Commerce ; and sent *Sebastian Cabot* to make new Discoveries in *America*, which, in his Reign, was discovered by *Columbus*, who offered his Service to *Henry*, before he engaged with the Court of *Spain* : But, perhaps, the Caution of *Henry* in treating with *Columbus*, was serviceable to *England* ; because the Mines of *Potosi* and *Peru*, have enervated the *Spaniards* ; while the *English*, by labouring on a more barren Extent of Soil, have raised rich Plantations of *Tobacco*, *Rice*, and

and Sugars, which have preserved the Virtues of *Englishmen*, and increased the Power of *England*. *Henry* was ceremonious and sincere in Religion. He would sometimes strain up his Laws to his Prerogative ; and at others, would let down his Prerogative to his Parliament. Justice was well administred ; except where the King was Party, whose predominant Passion was Avarice. His Disposition was sad and serious ; full of Thoughts, and secret Observations ; as also of Notes and Memorials of his own Hand, especially touching Persons, as whom to employ, reward, enquire of, and of whom to beware.

His Personage was comely, and above the common Stature ; well and strait limbed, but slender, having a Countenance like a Churchman.

In the first Year of his Reign, the Sweating Sickness first broke out ; which was a Kind of pestilent Fever, and swept off great Numbers of People, throughout the whole Kingdom. In the Year 1494, *Joan Boughton*, a Widow, was burnt in *Smithfield*, as a Heretic, for professing the Opinions of *Wickliffe*. Wheat was sold that Year for 4s. a Quarter. In the Year 1500, a Pestilence raged in *England*, which destroyed 30,000 People in *London*. In 1502, *Sebastian Cabot* brought three *Americans* into *England*. In 1503, the superb Chapel, called *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, was erected in *Westminster-Abbey*. And in 1507, the Sweating Sickness returned ; but, as the Cure was known, it was not mortal, like the first.

The House of *Lancaster*, again restor'd,
Enjoy'd the Crown by *Richmond Henry's* Sword ;
Who took *York's* beauteous Heiress to his Bed,
And the *White Rose* united with the *Red* :
But *Henry's* Coolness to so fair a Queen,
Rouz'd *Civil Discord* to disturb his Reign.

By personating *Warwick*, *England's* Heir,
Th' Impostor, *Simnel*, rais'd the Storm of War :
But *Henry's* Genius still prevail'd at *Stoke* ;
Brave *Lincoln* dies ; the *German* Troops are broke ;

Simmel is Captive, and in menial State,
 No more aspires to gain *Ambition's* Seat.
 Yet *Warbeck*, who had more Assistance won,
 Assum'd the Name of *York*, the Royal *Edward's* Son :
 But, after glitt'ring in his Royal Pride,
 The pageant Monarch by the Hangman dy'd :
 While *Warwick* an unhappy Victim fell,
Ambition's Fears to dissipate and quell.

Oh ! princely *Arthur*, in thy Bloom of Life,
 A *Spanish* Princess was thy early Wife.
 What happy Days did *England* form from thee,
 Who wert the truest-born of Majesty ?
 Alas ! vain were those Hopes : like some fair Flow'r,
 Whose Stem is broken by the rushing Show'r,
 Thy *England* saw thee droop ; and Millions cry'd,
 With patriot Anguish, when their *Arthur* dy'd.

Henry, to fill his avaricious Hand,
 With many Impositions fill'd the Land :
 But many Blessings still his Reign attend ;
Trade found him its Protector, and its Friend :
Calot, for him, the *Western World* explores,
 And takes Possession of the *Indian Shores* ;
 Which, in succeeding Times, to *England* drew
 The Treasures of rich *Chili* and *Peru*.

No more, like Vassals, *England's* Sons appear,
 But move alike in *Freedom's* happy Sphere :
 No more the *Barons* drive them to the Field,
 Where Inclination must to Vi'lence yield :
Trade gave the *Commons* Wealth, and now they stand,
 The best Defenders of their native Land.

XX. HENRY VIII. *the fortieth King of England, the twentieth from the Norman Conquest, and the second of the Line of Tudor.*

HENRY the Eighth was born at Greenwich, on the 28th of June 1491, and ascended the Throne, ^{A. D. 1509.} on the 22^d of April 1509; being eighteen Years of Age, wanting a few Months. He came to the Crown by an indisputable Right of Succession; as Heir of the House of Lancaster by his Father, and of the House of York by his Mother. His Father at first designed him for an Ecclesiastic, to fill the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury; because, while Prince *Arthur* was living, there was little Likelihood that Prince *Henry* would be King; therefore, Care was taken to instruct him in all the Parts of Learning, necessary for his intended Function: and, after the Death of his Brother, his Father kept him to his Studies, for fear his active and fiery Spirit should carry him to more dangerous Employments: Because the King was afraid that the Prince would assert his Right to the Crown, as Heir to his Mother.

HENRY the Eighth had great Learning, particularly in the abstruse Points of the *Aristotelia* Philosophy, which was chiefly adopted in those Days; but this gave him such an Opinion of himself, that it had too much Influence on all the Actions of his Life. He was very handsome, and expert in all bodily Exercises: Brave without Ostentation; of a free and ingenuous Temper; without Fraud, or Infincerity: being as liberal as his Father was avaricious; whose Will he would not comply with, because the Father accumulated Riches with the utmost Assiduity, only to afford his Son the Pleasure of squandering them away without any *Œconomy*.

THE new King retained the best Ministers belonging to the old One. He redressed the Grievances of the

A. D. former Reign, by calling *Empson* and *Dudley* to an Ac-
 1509. count before the Council, for stretching the Laws beyond
 their due Bounds: Upon which, they were committed
 to the Tower; and, though they had the Royal War-
 rant for their Severity to the People, the King resolved
 to make them an Example: Therefore, it was resolved
 to put them to Death upon a false Accusation, of in-
 tending to withdraw their Allegiance from the King,
 since his Accession to the Throne; which was accord-
 ingly put into Execution.

As *Henry* the Seventh had no other View in affiancing
Prince Henry to the Princess *Catharine*, than preserving
 her Dower; and as *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 remonstrated against such a Marriage; it was now deli-
 berated in Council, whether it should be consummated.
 The Marriage was considered on one Side, as incestu-
 ous; on the other, that the Pope could dispense with
 it: Therefore, the Consummation of it was resolved
 upon; their Marriage was celebrated on the 7th of
June; and their Coronation was solemnized on the 24th;
 but the latter was so uneasy to the King, that he after-
 wards disannulled the former; which was productive of
 the most important Alteration of Affairs in *England*.

THE King, in the Beginning of his Reign, addicted
 himself to Pleasures; leaving the Management of his
 Affairs to his Council and Ministers: But he afterwards
 disregarded them all. He soon drained the Exchequer
 of his Father, in which he was encouraged by the Earl
 of *Surry*, who was Lord Treasurer both to Father and
 Son: But, as the Bishop of *Winchester* was exasperated
 at this Conduct, he fell into Disgrace, and endeavoured
 to supplant his Rival, by introducing *Thomas Woolsey* at
 Court, who was the Son of a Butcher at *Ipswich*, though
 a Clergyman already eminent for his Merit, and after-
 wards the greatest Subject that ever lived in *England*.

A. D. *HENRY* made himself respected at Home, by mo-
 1510. derating the penal Laws of his Father; and his Friend-
 ship was solicited by foreign Princes, on Account of
 the League of *Cambray*, which was chiefly promoted
 by the Emperor, the King of *France*, the King of
Arragon,

Arragon, and the Pope, for the Destruction of the *Vene-* A. D. *tian Republic*. The Pope, and the King of *Arragon*, 1510: deserted the League, to form another against *France*. The King of *Arragon* prevailed upon his Son-in-Law, the King of *England*, to conclude a new Alliance; which was directly levelled against *France*; though *Henry* had just renewed the Treaties made by his Father with *Lewis* the Twelfth; for, at this Time, he was addicted more to Pleasure than Business, and became a Principal in a War, with which he had no Manner of Concern.

THE Pope, the King of *Arragon*, and the *Venetians*, A. D. concluded a League at *Rome*; leaving a Place for the 1511. King of *England*, who had shewn his Desire to be included; this League being levelled against the *French* Monarch, and the Duke of *Ferrara*. It would have been Policy in King *Henry* to suffer the *French*, *German*s, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, to be at War with each other in *Italy*; without involving *England* in those Troubles which could never procure it any Advantage: But, like his Predecessor *Henry* the Third, he resolved to make himself a formidable Party among the *Italians*; though with very different Views; for *Henry* the Third attempted to put his second Son upon the Throne of *Sicily*; whereas *Henry* the Eighth was only obliging his politic Father-in-Law.

JOHN de ALBRET, King of *Navarre*, was attached to the Fortunes of the *French* Monarch; upon which, the King of *Arragon* formed a Design of seizing his whole Kingdom, and of making *Henry* his Son-in-Law, the Instrument to execute it, under Pretence of encouraging him to recover *Guienne*, and that he would assist him in the Conquest: The Pope also promised to deprive the *French* Monarch of the Title of the *Most Christian King*, and confer it upon *Henry*; who readily came into the Measures proposed, acceeded to the League concluded at *Rome*, and entered into another Treaty with *Ferdinand*, for the Conquest of *Guienne*.

THE Parliament being met the 4th of *February*, the A. D. King communicated his Design of making War upon 1512. *France*;

A. D. *France*; protesting his sole Aim was to free the Pope ^{1512.} from the Oppression of *France*: But, though the War was little agreeable to the Interest of *England*, the Parliament gave the King a large Subsidy; being two Fifteenths from the Commons, and two Tents from the Clergy.

AN Army was levied, and a Fleet equipped: The former commanded by *Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset*; and the latter by *Sir Edward Howard, Son and Heir to the Earl of Surry*, who conducted the Troops for the *Guienne Expedition to Guipuscoa*, in *Spain*; consisting of 8000 Men. The Admiral then plundered the Coast of *Bretagne*, and defeated the *French* Fleet on the 10th of *August*; the *English* having Forty-five, and the *French* Thirty-nine Ships. But the King of *Arragon* was only intent upon conquering *Navarre*, and endeavoured to frustrate the Conquest of *Guienne*, which he had all along pretended was his only Motive: His General, the Duke of *Alva*, over-ran the former, but refused to invade the latter; which discovered the real Intentions of King *Ferdinand*, to the Marquis of *Dorset*, who, full of Indignation at these Proceedings, desired *Ferdinand* to furnish him with Ships for his return to *England*, which he obtained with great Difficulty, and returned in *December*; when the King was made sensible that he had been deceived by *Ferdinand*: However, he dissembled his Resentment, for fear of giving his Father-in-Law a Pretence of joining with *France*.

HENRY had Plenty of ready Money in his Coffers; and was so conceited, as to imagine he had more Wisdom than his Counsellors; which made him continue a Dupe to the Artifices of the Pope and the King of *Arragon*, who, together with the Emperor *Maximilian*, persuaded him to send Ambassadors to *Brussels*, to conclude a new League against *France*. *Henry* was determined to carry War into *France*; for which Purpose, his Parliament granted him another Subsidy, and a Poll-tax; while the Pope granted a plenary Indulgence to all his Subjects who should aid him with their Persons or Purses. But as the King of *Scotland* found he — could

could be protected only by *France*, from the superior Force of *England*; several of whose Kings had shewn a Desire of uniting all *Great-Britain* under their Dominion; he entered into a Treaty with *France*, and prepared an Army, with which he intended to make an In-road into *England*, as soon as *Henry* should invade the *French* Dominions. However, *Henry* was determined to proclaim War against *France*; and sent the Earl of *Surry* into the Northern Parts of *England*, to act against *Scotland* in Case of Necessity.

HENRY preposterously imagined that his Allies would make Diversions in several Places against *France*, to facilitate the Execution of his Designs. He was very desirous of signalizing himself by illustrious Actions; and therefore concluded another Treaty at *Mechlin*, with the same Allies, whereby *France* was to be invaded on all Sides: But none of the Confederates, except *Henry*, intended to keep their Word.

THOMAS WOOLSEY, from the Son of a Butcher at *Ipswich*, became now Prime Minister of *England*. He was introduced to Court by the Bishop of *Winchester*: He received several Promotions in the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*; and made it his Business to insinuate himself to the Favour of *Henry the Eighth*; by shewing him that he wanted an able Minister, capable of easing him in the Administration of the most important Affairs; and he so managed it, that he became, himself, that Minister which he advised the King to seek; being a great Example of the Power of Fortune, both in his illustrious Rise, and his deplorable Fall!

HENRY had declared War against *France*, and was preparing to invade it with a numerous Army: But the War was already begun before he put to Sea; for Admiral *Howard* attacked the *French* Fleet off *Conquet*, when he lost his Life; which prevented the *English* from continuing the Battle; and encouraged the *French* to make a Descent on the Coast of *Sussex*, from whence they carried away some Booty.

WHILE *Henry* was preparing to invade *France*, he was convinced of the Infincerity of his Allies; how-

A. D 1513. ever, he resolved to carry on the War himself; and the Emperor, instead of assisting him with an Army, offered to serve him as a Volunteer. The *English* Forces landed at *Calais* in *May*, consisting of 25,000 Men, commanded by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Herbert*; who were joined by the King, and his Volunteer the Emperor, soon after they had laid Siege to *Terouenne*, in the Province of *Artois*, which was garrisoned by 3000 Men. The Duke of *Longueville*, who commanded the *French* Army, approached *Terouenne*; upon which, King *Henry* advanced to meet him with 11000 Men; and the two Armies engaged near the River *Lys*: But the Fight was hardly begun, when the *French* ran away so hastily, as to have it called *The Battle of Spurs*. The Duke of *Longueville*, and some other Officers of Distinction, were taken Prisoners: After which, *Terouenne* surrendered on the 22^d of *August*, when *Henry* delivered it to the Emperor, who demolished its Fortifications.

HENRY then undertook the Siege of *Tournay* in *Flanders*; which was reduced in a Week; though the Number of its Inhabitants were 80,000; and though the Gates bore this Inscription, “Thou hast never lost thy Virginity.”

HENRY would not keep *Terouenne*; though he kept *Tournay*, which was farther from *Calais* than the other, and consequently less serviceable to his Designs: But this was owing to *Woolsey*, who was made Bishop of *Tournay*, for which the Siege was undertaken.

AFTER the Reduction of *Tournay*, *Henry* made a new Treaty at *Lille*, with the Princess *Margaret*, Duchess Dowager of *Savoy*, and the Arch-Duke *Charles* her Nephew, Grand-Son to the Emperor *Maximilian*: Whereby the Emperor was to maintain 10,000 Men in the *Austrian* Netherlands, for which *Henry* was to pay him 200,000 Crowns; though the Emperor had received 100,000 before, by the Treaty of *Mecklin*, for which he did nothing, but attend *Henry* as a Volunteer, and then leave him abruptly. After the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Lille*, *Henry* returned into *England*; having made a glorious Campaign, if the Success of his Arms was

was only to be considered; but an inglorious one, A. D. considering that he was not more powerful over his ^{1513.} Enemies in the Field, than he was less politic with his treacherous Allies in the Cabinet. However, their Treachery made him provide for his future Safety, by entering into a Negotiation of Peace with *France*, which was concluded the Year following.

WHILE *Henry* was invading *France*, *James* the Fourth of *Scotland* was determined to invade *England*; representing to his Parliament, that the *French* Kings were the Allies to the *Scotch* Monarchs. *James* sent a Letter to *Henry*, while the latter was before *Terouenne*, representing several Grievances; and menacing a Declaration of War, in Case he desisted not from his Invasion of *France*. The *Scotch* King, without waiting for an Answer from the *English* Monarch, took the Field in *August*, with 60,000 Men, entered *Northumberland*, and reduced several Places. The Earl of *Surry* was then in *Yorkshire* with 26,000 Men: He marched against the *Scotch*, drew them from their advantageous Situation on Mount *Cheviot*, and defeated them at *Floddon*, on the 9th of *September*; when the King of *Scotland* was slain, with one Archbishop, two Bishops, four Abbots, twelve Earls, seventeen Barons, and 9000 common Soldiers; the *English* losing about 4000 Men, without any Person of Distinction.

HENRY found he was more indebted for his Success in *France*, to the Circumstances of the Time, than ^{1514.} to his Prudence or Valour: Therefore, he was desirous of disengaging himself from so troublesome and impolitic a War. He created his Favourite, *Woolsey*, Bishop of *Lincoln* and *Tournay*; who, alone, was entrusted with negotiating a Peace with *France*, which was concluded on the 7th of *August*, whereby it was agreed, that Peace should continue between the two Kings, till the Death of the shortest Liver: That the Princess *Mary*, Sister of King *Henry*, should be married to the *French* Monarch, with 400,000 Crowns for her Dower: And that *Lewis* should pay to *Henry* a Million of Crowns, by half yearly Payments of 50,000 Livres *Tournois*, for the

A. D. the Arrears of what was due to *Henry* the Seventh, by
1514 the Treaty of *Estatles*, as also for the Affection which
Lewis bore to *Henry* the Eighth. Thus the War, which
had been undertaken on Pretence of Religion, termi-
nated only for the sake of personal Interest.

THE Princess *Mary* was accordingly married to the *French* Monarch; though she had been solemnly affianced to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: But the King was so old and infirm, that he died after eighty Days possessing, rather than enjoying of his Queen, who soon afterwards married *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. The Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, Sister to *Henry* the Eighth, was appointed Regent of that Kingdom during the Minority of her Son, *James* the Fifth, then only two Years old: But she married *Archibald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*, and threw the Kingdom into great Confusion.

A. D. *FRANCIS* the First, who succeeded *Lewis* the
1515. Twelfth of *France*, renewed the Alliance with *England*: But *Woolsey*, who was now Arch-Bishop of *York*, and entirely governed his King, soon made *Henry* renew the War; on Pretence that the Success of *Francis* in *Italy*, would be fatal to *England*; and that the Restoration of the *French* Bishop to the See of *Tournay*, was contrary to the Glory of *Henry*: Though *Woolsey* only had his own private Interest in View, which he always consulted before that of his Master. *Woolsey* had so much Ascendancy over the King, that his ablest and most ancient Ministers quitted the Court, while this aspiring Favou-
rite was ordained a Cardinal by the Means of the *French* Monarch; notwithstanding which, he was bent on inciting his Master to a Renewal of the War with *France*. His Pride was increased with his Cardinalship, and much more, when he was appointed Lord Chancellor; to which were added the Farming of three Bishoprics, held by *Italians*; and several other Emolu-
ments.

A. D. THE Death of *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, which
1516. happened in *February*, prevented the Measures taken by Cardinal *Woolsey*, to involve all *Europe* in a War with *France*: So that *Henry* was obliged to continue in Peace; because

because the Interests of foreign Princes were not agreeable to those of the *English* King, or rather to the *Persons* of his Minister.

THE Zeal of *Woolsey* for improving the *English* Learning and Manufactures, had led him to give great Encouragement to foreign Tradesmen, who settled in *England*. This occasioned a Tumult among the Citizens of *London*, who thought these Foreigners were invited over to ruin them; But 280 of the Rioters being seized, eleven Gibbets were erected in eleven of the principal Streets of *London*; upon which, eleven Prisoners were executed; the rest being pardoned by the King in *Westminster-Hall*, in their Shirts, and with Halters about their Necks. However, the Citizens thought the Conduct of the Court very severe at least, if not unjustifiable, on this occasion.

WOOLSEY was unwilling to part with the Bishopric of *Tournay*, and the *French* Monarch was desirous of regaining it; for which the King offered the Cardinal the annual Pension of 12,000 Livres, who accepted it, and prevailed upon the King of *England*, to conclude several Treaties with *France*; whereby a Marriage was agreed upon between the Princess *Mary* and the *Dauphin*; *Tournay* was to be restored on Payment of 600,000 Crowns; and the two Kings were to have an Interview.

EUROPE enjoyed a profound Tranquility, till the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian* occasioned new Troubles; by engaging *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Low Countries*, in Wars no less fatal to them than the former. *Charles the Fifth*, King of *Spain*, was elected Emperor; to which Title both the *French* and *English* Monarchs vainly aspired. This occasioned a Quarrel between the *French* and *Spanish* Kings; who mutually caressed *Woolsey*, to obtain the Friendship of *Henry*. The King of *England* might have rendered his Reign very glorious, as he had it in his Power to preserve the Peace of *Europe*, by preserving an even Balance between the two contending Rivals: But he neglected this Opportunity, by entirely giving up

A. D. up himself to the interested Councils of Cardinal 1519. *Woolsey*, who was now also appointed sole *Legate a latere* by the Pope, whereby he could superintend the whole Body of the Clergy, during a whole Year; which Power he exerted in a very unpopular Manner. *Woolsey* was not contented with his extraordinary Authority in *England*, but also aspired to the see of *Rome*.

A. D. 1520. The Emperor came to *England*, and had an Interview with *Henry* at *Dover*: after which, *Henry* went to *France*, and had an Interview with the *French Monarch* between *Ardres* and *Guînes*; where the *Peace* was renewed, and *Henry* returned to *England*; finding himself at *Peace* with all *Europe*, except *Scotland*, which would have been glad to have been left in *Quiet*.

A. D. 1521. A Rupture happening between the Emperor and the *French Monarch*, *Henry* was appointed to be their Mediator, who sent *Woolsey* to *Calais* to hold a Conference; in which he threw the Blame of the War upon the *French Monarch*, and made him submit to an injurious Treaty of *Peace*: After which he concluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Emperor, and the Pope, against *France*.

THE Pride of *Woolsey* still increased with his Riches; and his Revenge fell upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom he caused to be be-headed, for saying, "If the King died without Heirs, he thought he had a Right to the Throne:" Though he lost his Head for disobliging the Cardinal by pouring a little Water into his Shoes, when he had the Impudence to dip his Hands in the Basin, while the Duke held it out to the King to wash. This Nobleman was Son of that Duke of *Buckingham*, who, in the Reign of *Richard* the Third, was be-headed for his Attachment to *Henry* the Seventh: So that this Cruelty of *Henry* the Eighth was unpardonable; especially as the Duke was descended from *Anne of Gloucester*, Granddaughter of *Edward* the Third. With this Nobleman, ceased the great Place of High Constable of *England*, hereditary in his Family: But his Execution was attended with loud Murmurs among the People, and afterwards with the Disgrace of the Cardinal.

THE

THE papal Authority had formerly received a violent ^{A. D.} Blow by *Wickliffe*, an *Englishman*; and this Blow was ^{1521.} now redoubled by *Martin Luther*, a *German*; who attacked the Indulgences granted by the Pope; examined into the Grounds of the papal Authority; and, being persuaded there was nothing to support it in Scripture, wrote upon that Subject without any Regard to the *Roman Pontiff*; by declaiming against the Celibacy of the Priests, monastic Vows, and private Masses. He ridiculed the Defenders of *Thomas Aquinas*, who was the favourite Author of King *Henry the Eighth*; upon which, the King answered the Priest, by writing a Book, intitled, *Concerning the seven Sacraments*; wherein he was assisted by *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*; in Return for which, he afterwards cut off their Heads; though the Pope, in Honour of what they had wrote, conferred the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*, on the King, and his Successors.

HENRY renewed the League with the Pope, and ^{A. D.} the Emperor, against *France*; by concluding another at ^{1522.} *Bruges*; instead of regarding the *Treaty of London* made with the *French* Monarch, against whom he proclaimed War, upon very frivolous, if not unjust Occasions. But, as he would not venture to demand a Subsidy of his Parliament, he made such a Survey of the Kingdom as was taken by *William the Conqueror*; which was followed by a general Loan of the Tenth of his Lay-Subjects, and a Fourth of the Clergy, according to the Value of their Estates; though this was a manifest Violation of the Privileges of the People, as tending directly to arbitrary Power in the King. The *London* Merchants opposed the levying of this Tax, the People were alarmed, and the King was obliged to the usual Method of recurring to his Parliament, for making up the Deficiency of the Loan; Part of which he lent to the Emperor, who came to *England* for that Purpose, and to confirm the League against *France*.

CARDINAL *Woolsey*, having extorted another Subsidy ^{A. D.} for the King, still aspired to the Papacy; but was ^{1523.} circumvented in his Ambition: While *Christiern*, King of *Denmark*

A. D. Denmark and Sweden, with his Queen, found Protection 1522. in England, after they were expelled those Kingdoms for his Barbarity. Woolsey then projected the entire Dissolution of France; from whence the English Forces were returned, with little Success. However, 13000 of them were transported again, commanded by the Duke of Suffolk; and the War was renewed, with as little Success as before; though Henry maintained an Army in England, which awed Scotland from assisting France.

A. D. The French Monarch was very unsuccessful in Italy, 1524. and was taken Prisoner, by the Imperialists, before Pavia: This entirely altered the System of Europe, by throwing the Balance of Power into the Hands of the Emperor; and the Venetians endeavoured to form a League against the Conqueror.

A. D. The Equality between the two Houses of Austria and 1525. Valois, was properly what made England considerable, and was consequently an Advantage not to be neglected: Which, with some private Disgusts between the Emperor and Henry, induced the latter to disregard his Alliance with the former, and shew a Regard to France. The French Monarchy, at this Time, must have been irrecoverably lost, if Henry made any vigorous Efforts on the Side of Picardy; which he neglected, to oppose the growing Power of the House of Austria, in whom the Imperial Crown was become as hereditary; besides his Imperial Title, the Emperor also possessed large and rich Provinces in Germany; he held almost all the Low Countries, enjoyed the Kingdom of Spain, had his Eye upon Portugal, and awed Italy. Henry imagined he should acquire the Title of Arbiter and Deliverer of Europe, by relieving France, and setting her Monarch at Liberty: But, to countenance his Breach of Faith, he sent Ambassadors to the Emperor, to make such Demands as he knew would not be granted; upon which a Rupture ensued, and Henry took an Opportunity of laying the whole Charge to the Emperor.

A Treaty was negotiating between England and France; while Cromwell undertook to levy Money without

out the Consent of Parliament, which exasperated the Nation, and was disavowed by the King; who declared, that he would exact nothing by Force of his People, nor demand any Thing but by way of Benevolence, as practised in the Reign of *Edward the Fourth*. This was only an Artifice, to extort under another Name, what the People refused to give by Force; for Benevolences were abolished by *Richard the Third*, which gave the People an Opportunity now to excuse themselves: But, as the Cardinal urged the Necessity of Benevolences, the People of *Suffolk* broke out into an Insurrection, which would have spread round *England*, if it had not been happily appeased by the Lenity of the King, who desired them to submit, and promised not to punish any Person for this Commotion.

A defensive League being concluded between *France* and *England*, the Emperor recalled his Ambassadors from the *English* Court, and *Henry* recalled his from the Court of *Spain*: But the Emperor thought proper to release his royal Captive, on Condition that the King should marry *Leonora* his Sister, and resign to him the Duchy of *Burgundy*. When *Francis* was at Liberty, and safe in his own Dominions, he renounced this Treaty with the Emperor; and concluded another against him, in Alliance with the Pope, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Venetians*. However, the *English* and *French* Monarchs intended only to frighten the Emperor; whereby the *Italians*, who took the Field, became their Dupes; which deserves Notice, as a Thing very uncommon. *Rome* was sacked by the Imperialists, and the Pope taken Prisoner; nor was he released till a Treaty was made for his Deliverance: So little Regard was now paid by temporal Princes to the spiritual Authority!

MACHIAVEL observed, though himself an *Italian*, that the nearest Neighbours to the Church of *Rome* were the most irreligious: As also, that the Church is the only Cause, why *Italy* is not governed by one Prince, or Republic, like other Countries. The papal Authority, since the Conversion of *Ethelbert* by *Austin*, had subsisted in *England* 930 Years; with many Marks

of

A. D. of ecclesiastical Pride, Vengeance, and Avarice: But 1527. its grand Pillar had been shaken by the *Lollards*, underpropped by *Luther*, and was now to be overthrown by *Henry*, on whom the Pope had conferred the Title of *Defender of the Faith*: Though, in the last Case, Religion had little to do in the Matter.

LEWIS the Twelfth having put away his Wife, about 30 Years before, with little Noise in the World, and less Difficulty with the Pope; *Henry* the Eighth was inclined to attempt the same Thing; and, though the latter was supported with much more plausible Reasons than the former, he met with far greater Obstacles, which gave Establishment to the Reformation in *England*: But though the Divorce of *Henry* occasioned that Reformation, it was only by Accident.

HENRY had been married 18 Years to *Catharine of Arragon*, the Widow of his Brother *Arthur*, and Aunt to the present Emperor *Charles the Fifth*. The King had three Children by his Queen; one of whom, the Princess *Mary*, succeeded to the Crown; though the King, her Father, founded his Divorce on the Invalidity of his Marriage with her Mother: But, it is uncertain whether new Affections in Love, or old Policy in State, induced the King to persist in such an Act, as brought the greatest Blessings upon his People.

WHEN *Henry* the Seventh concluded the Marriage of Prince *Henry*, with the Widow of his Brother; he was plainly told by Archbishop *Warham*, that it was contrary to the Law of God, which the Pope could not dispense with: And, though *Henry* the Seventh married his Son, only to preserve the Dower of *Catharine*; he, on his Death-bed, charged the Prince not to consummate the Marriage. Other Affairs happened to instil Scruples into the Mind of *Henry* the Eighth; who affirmed, that he abstained from the Queen ever since the Year 1524: But the Appearance of *Anne Bullen*, or *Boleyn*, at Court, in 1527, was perhaps as prevalent as any other Reason.

WOOLSEY was displeased with the Emperor, and was resolved to revenge himself upon his Aunt: For which Purpose, it is reported, he gave private Orders to

Longland,

Longland, who was Confessor to the King, to cherish his A. D. Doubts, concerning the papal Dispensation for his Marriage. The King ordered Archbishop *Warham* to consult the Bishops of *England*, upon this Occasion; who condemned the Marriage, as contrary to common Decency, and the Law of God. Besides, the King doubted whether his Daughter could succeed to the Throne; and the People began to be convinced that the Pope could not dispense with the Laws of God.

As the King imagined, that *Clement* the Seventh could revoke a Dispensation granted by *Julius* the Second; he resolved, the Suit for a Divorce should be moved in the Court of *Rome*: Several Nullities were offered to the papal Bull, and an Ambassador Extraordinary was sent to the Pope, who was unwilling to intermeddle in the Affair; because, he had suffered so much, that he was resolved to lose no more, and made his Peace with the Emperor, whom he was unwilling to disoblige, by obliging *Henry*. However, the Pope granted a Commission to the Cardinals *Woolsey* and *Campejus* to judge of the Cause in *England*, as his *Legates a latere*; though he was resolved not to grant the Divorce; but only to gain Time, to see how the Affairs of *Italy* were settled.

As the Pope was remiss in concurring with the Views of *Henry*, the King sent other Ambassadors to *Rome*, either to flatter him, or frighten him into a Compliance. The Pope gave Hopes the Affairs should be decided in *England* for the King, by a Sentence of the Legates, which he would himself confirm to make it more authentic: While the Emperor, who knew the Insincerity of the Pope, protested, in the Name of Queen *Catherine*, against whatever should be done in *England*, in the Affair of the Divorce; declaring, that she excepted against the two Legates, as *Woolsey* was notoriously devoted to the King, and *Campejus* was also Bishop of *Salisbury*. *Henry* was tired with the Delays of the Pope, and feared the Cause would be transferred from *England* to *Rome*, which the Legates desired: But the King prevented

A. D. vented it, by granting them a Licence to execute the
1527. Commission granted by the Pope.

THE Legates opened their Commission, in a Court held in a great Place called the Parliament-Chamber, in *Black-Friars*, in *London*; to which the King and Queen were summoned to appear personally. The King answered when he was called upon in Court: But the Queen, without saying any Thing to the Legates, went and kneeled down before the King, to whom she made a very moving Speech; saying, she had been his Wife upwards of 20 Years, had borne him several Children, was ever studious to please him, and protested he had found her a true Maid, to which she appealed to his own Conscience, and declared, she would not submit to the Court: after which, she withdrew, and would never more appear, nor suffer any Person to defend her Cause. As soon as she was retired, the King declared, she had been a most virtuous, and obedient Wife, endued with every Quality and Condition suitable to her Birth; assuring the Court, that his Desire for a Divorce, arose only from a Motive of Religion and Conscience. However, the two Legates procrastinated the Process in such a Manner, as to give the King great Disquietude: But when the Pope avocated the Cause to *Rome*, *Henry* soon determined to end it in *England*.

THE King took a Progress into some of his Countries, to try to dispel his Melancholy; as he had now lost all Affection for his Queen, and was most passionately enamoured with *Anne Bullen*: But, as he lay at *Waltham*, *Fox* and *Gardiner*, two of his Courtiers, fell in Company with *Thomas Cranmer*, a Doctor in Divinity, who had moderately embraced the Doctrine of *Luther*. As the Conversation ran upon the Affair of the Divorce, *Cranmer* was desired to declare his Sentiments; when he advised, that the King should procure, in Writing, the Opinions of all the Universities in *Europe*, and of the most eminent Divines and Civilians; whose Judgment the Pope would not oppose. *Fox* and *Gardiner* imparted this Advice to the King, who cried out, in a Transport of Joy, *That he had got the right Sow by the Ear!*

Ear! He immediately sent for *Cranmer*, who more A. D. fully explained his Meaning, and so much gained the ^{1527.} Esteem of the King, that he was ordered to follow the Court, where he soon made a considerable Figure, and laid the first Foundations of the Reformation in the Kingdom.

ANNE BULLEN, who thought *Woolsey* was her Friend, was surprized at his Conduct in deferring the Sentence of Divorce; which she improved to his Ruin. The King ordered a Bill of Indictment to be preferred against the Cardinal, for breaking the Statute of *Præ-munire*; who, finding himself out of the Protection of the Law, threw himself upon the Mercy of the King. The great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir *Thomas Moore*: He was ordered to retire to *Esher* in *Surry*; and an Inventory of his Effects were taken, which amounted to 500,000 Crowns. Forty-four Articles of Impeachment were presented to the King against the Cardinal, by the House of Lords; taxing him with the Abuse of his Power, as Legate, Chancellor, Prime Minister, and Favourite: But he was cleared from the Charge of Treason, by *Thomas Cromwell*, one of his Domestics, and a Member of Parliament; which Conduct afterwards promoted *Cromwell* to great Honour. The King permitted the Cardinal to remove to *Windsor*; from whence he was ordered to his Diocese of *York*: But he was arrested by the Earl of *Northumberland*, at *Carwood*, for High Treason. The Cardinal was so much concerned, to think he was going to appear as a Criminal in *London*, where he had commanded with almost a sovereign Authority, that it threw him into a Fit of Illness at *Leicester*, where he died on the 30th of *November* 1530; declaring, just before he expired, "That if he had served God as diligently as he had done the King, he would not have forsaken him in his old Age." *Polydore Virgil*, who was a declared Enemy to *Woolsey*, says, "That no Man ever rose with fewer Virtues." But Lord *Herbert* says, "Few ever fell from so high a Place, that had lesser Crimes objected against him." The King regretted his Death; but the People rejoiced

A. D. rejoiced at it ; because they had greatly suffered by his
1527. Pride, Ambition, and Avarice.

THE King ordered *Cranmer* to publish his Sentiments upon the Divorce, which he did, with universal Approbation ; proving, from the Scriptures and general Councils, that the Pope had no Authority to dispense with the Word of God, so as to marry one Brother to the Wife of another. The King then sent him with his Ambassadors, to defend his Writings before the Pope ; which *Cranmer* undertook, and maintained the Cause with great Spirit. However, the Pope would not indulge the King, notwithstanding the Peers of *England* threatened to shake off the papal Yoke ; and though the Universities of *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, *Angiers*, *Paris*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Tholouse*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, and *Padua*, declared, that the Dispensation of Pope *Julius the Second*, for the Marriage of *Henry* with *Catharine*, was contrary to Divine Law, and consequently invalid. Indeed, the Pope would have granted *Henry* a Dispensation for two Wives : But *Henry* rejected this Overture ; and, fearing the Pope would lay his Kingdom under an Interdict, he prohibited the receiving of any such Bull under severe Penalties.

A Jest made by Sir *Thomas Wiat* began the Reformation, which the Seriousness of all Christendom could not commence. King *Henry* was at a Loss concerning the Divorce, which he no less passionately desired, than the Pope cautiously delayed : Upon which, Sir *Thomas* said, " Lord ! that a Man cannot repent him of his Sin, without Leave from the Pope." *Wiat* hinted, *Cranmer* opened, and the Universities of *Europe* made the Way to Reformation. The People of *England* were enlightened by *Wickliffe* ; they had an Opportunity of understanding the Doctrine of *Luther* ; and were very desirous of shaking off all Obedience to the Pope, which encouraged the King to have his Cause tried by the Parliament and Convocation ; both of which determined it in his Favour. The Clergy, as well as *Woolsey*, were condemned to the Pains in the Statute of *Præmunire* ; and the People were so far from being concerned

at

at their Disgrace, that it gave them infinite Pleasure ; A. D. because, the latter were disposed for an Alteration of 1527. Religion, which it was the Interest of the former to oppose : But the Clergy, in Hopes of regaining the Favour of the King, offered him 100,000*l.* acknowledging him *sole Protector, and supreme Head of the Church of England.*

THE King could not prevail upon his Queen to consent to the Divorce; upon which, he parted with her at *Windſor*, and left it to herself, to choose where she would reside in any of his Manors. *Anne Bullen* was created Marchioness of *Pembroke*, and the French Monarch advised *Henry* to marry so fair a Lady, which he accordingly did, on the 14th of *November 1532.* *Warham* died, and *Cranmer* succeeded him as Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who refused to take the usual Oath to the Pope; but the King prevailed upon him to make a formal Protestation against it, and then to take it. The Archbishop then disannulled the Marriage of *Catharine*, and confirmed that of *Anne Bullen*, who was crowned on the 1st of *June 1533*: By the former, he had *Mary*, who was the Scourge of *England*; by the latter, he had *Elizabeth*, who was the Glory of her Country: But if *Catharine* was unjustly divorced, *Anne Bullen* was afterwards cruelly beheaded. *Anne Bullen* was Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Viscount *Rochford*, by a Sister of the Duke of *Norfolk*; and she had been chiefly educated in the Court of *France*. Queen *Catharine* was now ordered to be styled only Prince's Dowager of *Wales*; but she refused to be served by that Title. The old Marriage was approved by some of the People, and the new one by others: However, from these Proceedings, *England* derived the greatest Blessing in the Reformation.

As the Births of all living Creatures are at first ill-shaped; so are all Innovations, which are the Births of Time. When the Times are bad, new Evils may be expected, if new Remedies are not applied; for Time is the greatest Innovator: Though it is impolitic to try Experiments in States, without the Necessity is urgent, or the Utility evident: For it should be the Reformation

A. D.ition that draws on the Change ; and not the Desire of ¹⁵²⁷ Change that pretends the Reformation. It was not *Luther* only, or private Persons, who declared against the *Roman Church* ; but Cities, Nations, and Sovereigns. However, the Emperor, in 1521, caused *Luther* and his Adherents to be outlawed, at the Diet of *Worms* ; and endeavoured, by Edicts, to stop the Progress of the Reformation. In 1529, the Emperor published the Edict of *Spires*, ordering that no Innovations should be made in Religion, and that no Persons should be prevented from going to Mass : But the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Princes of *Lunenburg*, made a solemn Protestation against this Decree ; from whence all their Party were called *Protestants*, and the Name accompanied the Reformation into *England*. In 1530, the Protestant Princes presented to the Emperor, at the Diet of *Augſburgh*, their Confession of Faith ; and entered into a defensive League at *Smalkald*, for their common Security, which was renewed in 1535, and strengthened by the Accession of many other Princes and States ; so as to occasion a War in *Germany*, between the Papists and Protestants ; though at the Diet of *Augſburgh*, in 1555, it was agreed, that no Person should be disturbed on Account of Religion ; and that the Protestants should enjoy ecclesiastical Benefices.

IT was now 300 Years since the Parliament of *England* first began to endeavour at a Reformation of the exorbitant Power of the Pope, and the Immunities of the Clergy ; but without a perfect Success, because it was contrary to the Interest of the Kings. At the present Time, when *Henry the Eighth* had a separate Interest from the Pope, this Reformation was not only generally expected, but also a Reformation of Doctrine was intended, as well as in *Germany*, by those who had more expanded Views. *Henry* considered the Clergy, both secular and regular, as secret Enemies, by Reason of their Attachment to the Court of *Rome* : The Parliament struck at the Privileges of the Clergy ; but Care was taken to make them a Recompence, by releasing

leaving them from the Payment of Annates, or First A. D. Fruits, to the Pope; as also by moderating the Fees for 1527. Palls, and Bulls; which had brought into the papal Treasury 160,000*l.* since the second Year of *Henry the Seventh*; besides, the papal Excommunications and Interdicts about these Matters were neither to be regarded, nor published: Which was laying the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*. Sir *Thomas More* foresaw the Reformation would extend farther than was at first imagined; and, therefore, as Lord Chancellor, resigned the Great Seal; which was given to Sir *Thomas Audley*, as Lord-Keeper.

THE Pope threatened to excommunicate *Henry* for not appearing at *Rome*, after he was cited: But the Parliament in 1533, passed an Act, expressly forbidding all Appeals to *Rome*, on Pain of incurring a *Præmunire*. The King, who had before opposed *Luther*, now wrote a Book against the papal Authority; notifying his Divorce, and his new Marriage, to all the Princes of *Europe*. The Pope declared the Sentence made by the Archbishop was of no Force; and gave a comminatory Sentence against the King, threatening to excommunicate him, if the Cause was not restored to its former State. The *French* Monarch interfered; and, by his Ambassador, *John de Bellay* Bishop of *Paris*, brought both *Henry* and the Pope into more moderate Measures: But the Emperor overthrew all, and persuaded the Pope to publish a Sentence against *Henry*, declaring his Marriage with *Catharine* good and lawful; and requiring him to take his Wife again, with Denunciation of Censures in Case of Disobedience: By which Means, the Church of *Rome* lost the Kingdom of *England*.

THE King and Parliament were so much offended with this Conduct of the Pope, that they resolved utterly to abolish the papal Authority in *England*, and accordingly passed an Act for that Purpose in 1534; as also another for making null the Marriage with *Catharine*, and confirming the Marriage with *Anne Bullen*. The People rejoiced at seeing themselves freed from the

A.D. 1527. papal Yoke; they swore to observe the Act; and none but the Monks exclaimed against it, which drew upon them the Indignation of the King: However, he was still a Papist, and the Reformation was far from being perfected during his Reign.

THE Parliament, having acknowledged the King for Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, granted him the First-Fruits and Tents; and declared, that the Pope had no more Jurisdiction than any other Bishop: But *John Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*, and *Sir Thomas More*, were committed to the Tower, for refusing to sign the Act of Parliament. Though *Archbishop Cranmer*, and *Thomas Cromwell*, supported the Reformation, it could not be accomplished in this Reign; for the King only renounced the papal Power, and ordered those to be burnt who would have carried the Reformation farther. *Henry* was no longer the same Prince: He became fierce, cruel, insensible of the Calamities of his People, and executing without Mercy the Laws dictated by himself to his Parliament. He put to Death several Priors, and Monks; as also a great Number of Protestants, for speaking too freely about the new Statutes. He even brought the Bishop of *Rochester*, who was made a Cardinal, and *Sir Thomas More*, to the Scaffold; for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy: They were both Men of great Abilities, and were be-headed on *Tower-Hill* in 1535; the one in the Eightieth Year of his Age, and the other in his Fifty-third.

THE Pope excommunicated *Henry*, absolved his Subjects from their Oath, ordered all the Ecclesiastics to quit his Dominions, and the Nobility to take Arms against him. The King was determined to suppress the Monasteries, and sent Commissioners to make a general Visitation among them, whose Report contained an Account of the Dissoluteness and Profligacy of the Monks and Nuns: Therefore, an Act of Parliament was passed, for suppressing all the Monasteries of 200*l.* a Year and under; of which Sort there were 376; whereby a Revenue of 32,000*l.* a Year, fell to the Crown; with Plate, Church Ornaments, and Goods,

to the Value of 100,000*l.* and this Suppression was A. D. afterwards extended to the greater Monasteries. 1527.

THE Clergy were so much offended with the King, that they inspirited the People to a Rebellion. Doctor *Mackarel*, Prior of *Barlings* in *Lincolnshire*, drew after him a great Body of Men, whom he headed by the Name of *Captain Cobler*. The Rebels sent their Grievances to the King; who returned an Answer to them in a large Manifesto, which had no great Effect: But, as the King offered them a general Pardon, they dispersed; when *Captain Cobler*, and some others, were taken and executed.

BUT a more dangerous Insurrection happened in *Yorkshire*, in 1536, headed by *Robert Aske*, a Man of good Judgment. Their March was called *the Pilgrimage of Grace*; and, as their Pretence was only Religion, their Numbers soon amounted to 40,000. They took *Pontefract*, *York*, and *Hull*; compelling several of the Nobility, particularly the Lords *Scroope*, *Latimer*, and *d'Arcy*, to join their Army: So that the King found himself obliged to publish a Proclamation, commanding all the Nobility to meet him at *Northampton*. However, this Commotion was also suppressed on publishing a general Pardon: Though *Nicholas Musgrave*, and *Thomas Tilby*, assembled another Body of 8000 Men, which were defeated by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and 74 of them were hanged on the Walls of *Carlisle*. This so much exasperated the King, that he put *Aske*, Lord *d'Arcy*, and Lord *Hussey*, to Death: Besides, to strike a Terror to the *Irish*, he also caused *Thomas Fitzgerald*, Son of the late Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his Uncles, to be executed, for fomenting a Sedition in *Ireland*.

IN 1537, the King came to a Resolution of supressing all the religious Houses in *England*: Many pious Frauds were detected, and counterfeit Relicks publickly burnt. The rich Shrine of *Thomas Becket*, commonly called St. *Thomas of Canterbury*, was feized for the royal Use, and his Bones burnt. Cardinal *Pole*, who resided in *Italy*, wrote some Tracts against the King; who executed several of his Friends in *England*, parti-

A. D. ^{1527.} *cularly Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, Grandson of Edward IVth. Henry Pole, Lord Montague, Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of Horse, and Sir Edward Nevil.* The King also pursued his Resolutions of suppressing all the religious Houses; so that the Number of Monasteries suppressed, first and last, were 653; besides 90 Colleges, 2374 Chantries, and free Chapels, with 110 Hospitals: Their worth was given in at 152,517*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* according to *Stevens*; but the real value was 1,600 000*l.* and it is computed that the Lands and Revenues belonging to them, were worth upwards of Thirty Millions of the present Money. Out of the Spoils of these Monasteries, the King founded the Bishopricks of *Bristol, Chester, Oxford, Gloucester, and Peterborough*; though at first he intended to found Twelve more. At the same Time he retained his old Religion, and made the bloody Statute, or the Six Articles against the Professors of the New; which induced *Shackleton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Latimer, of Worcester*, to resign their Bishopricks; though the King, as soon as he had received their Resignation, committed them to the Tower; but they were pardoned, as well as many others, who were imprisoned on the same Account. The Bible was translated into the English Language, and publickly set in every Church, to be perused by all Persons: But the Parliament suppressed the Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who are now called Knights of Malta. Some Persons were executed for dening the King's Supremacy, and others for maintaining the *Lutheran* Doctrines. *Cranmer* endeavoured to advance the Reformation, and *Gardiner* opposed it. Such was the Blow given by *Henry* against the Papal Power; and such were the Seeds of the Protestant Religion in *England*, whose Vegetation was hindered for some Time; but at last sprang up with all the Signs of a strong and beautiful Fertility.

A. D. ^{1528.} WHILE *Henry* was so busy in spiritual Affairs at Home, he also regarded his temporal Concerns abroad; and, in Conjunction with the *French* Monarch, declared

clared War against the Emperor ; though they grant- A. D.
ed a Truce for the *Low Countries*, that the War ¹⁵²⁸
might not prejudice the Woollen Trade of *England* ;
and a Peace was soon afterwards concluded between
the Emperor and the *French King*, at *Cambray*.

HENRY had an Interview, between *Calais* and A. D.
Boulogne, with *Francis* ; on purpose to strike a Terror ¹⁵³²
to the Emperor and the Pope ; that *Henry* might effect
his Divorce with *Catharine*, and *Francis* compleat his
Conquests in *Italy*.

HENRY having married *Anne Bullen*, that Lady A. D.
was delivered of a Daughter in *September*, named ¹⁵³³
Elizabeth, who afterwards ascended the Throne, and
thoroughly compleated the great Work of the Re-
formation. *Catharine* would never submit to the Sen-
tence of Divorce ; but retired to *Kimbolton*, where
she died, on the 8th of *January*, 1536, in the 50th
Year of her Age, 33 Years after her Arrival in *England*,
and was buried at *Peterborough*.

THE Fate of *Anne Bullen* was more to be lamented A. D.
than that of *Catharine* : For the King was not only ¹⁵³⁶
jealous of her, but was also violently in Love with
Jane Seymour, one of her Maids of Honour, Daughter
of Sir *John Seymour*, of *Wolf-Hall* in *Wiltshire*, and of
Elizabeth, Daughter of Sir *Henry Wentworth*, of *Nettle-
sted* in *Suffolk*. Lord *Rockford*, Brother to the Queen,
was married to a Lady who bore an infamous Charac-
ter, and acquainted the King that his Queen was un-
faithful, having a criminal Conversation with her
Brother the Lord *Rockford*. Queen *Anne* had many
Enemies at Court, because she was a great Friend to
the Reformation : The King was overjoyed to find, in
the pretended Unfaithfulness of his Queen, a Means
to procure the Possession of the Person he loved ; and
the Queen had Enemies enough to please the King
by accusing her of several Intrigues with her own
Domesticks. She was of a very cheerful Temper,
which was not always limitted within the Bounds of
exact Decency and Discretion. The King ordered
the Lord *Rockford*, and four others, to be arrested ;

A. D. while the Queen was sent a Prisoner to the Tower.
 1536. *Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Shaxton*, were condemned and executed, on a Charge of High Treason, for criminal familiarity with the Queen. Lord *Rockford* and the Queen were tried by their Peers, and condemned to be executed in the Tower, on the 19th of *May*, when, for Fear of drawing the King's Anger on her Daughter *Elizabeth*, the Queen would not insist upon her own Honour, though nothing had been done to prove her guilty. The King was also divorced from the Queen, before she was beheaded; declared her Daughter *Elizabeth* illegitimate; and the next Day, after the Mother died, he married *Jane Seymour*, wherein he expressed a Passion which served greatly to justify *Anne Bullen*. The Princess *Mary*, who had also been declared illegitimate, was restored to Favour; and though *Elizabeth* was deprived of the Title of Princess of *Wales*, the King still continued to educate her at Court with all the Care and Tenderness of a Father.

THE Parliament gave the King full Power to declare the Succession to the Crown, either by his Will, or Letters Patent; such Persons were declared Traitors, who endeavoured to usurp upon those whom he designed to succeed; as were also those who should maintain the Lawfulness of the former Marriages: in which, the Parliament acted like Slaves, and the King like a Tyrant.

A. D. THE new Queen was delivered of a Prince, at
 1537. *Hampton Court*; on the 12th of *October*, named *Edward*, who succeeded his Father in the Throne; but his Birth occasioned the Death of his Mother, and gave great Joy to his Father, who made him Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, which put the Succession of the Crown out of all Dispute.

A. D. CRANMER and *Cromwell*, seeing their Hopes of
 1538. the Reformation decay, after the Deaths of *Anne Bullen*, and *Jane Seymour*, thought it necessary to support their Party by marrying the King to *Anne of Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve* and the Duchess of *Saxony*: upon which, a Negotiation was set on foot by *Cromwell*, and

and the Princess arrived in *England*, when the Marri- A. D.
age was solemnized in *January*, 1540; though the ¹⁵³⁸
King, as soon as he saw her, took an Aversion to the
Lady, and was determined to be divorced from her.

CROMWELL was created Earl of *Essex*, only to A. D.
make his Fall the more conspicuous, as his Rise had ¹⁵⁴⁰
been most amazing; for he was only the Son of a Far-
rier, or Lock-smith. The King delighted to make his
Favourites from mean Beginnings, and to ruin them
in the End: He looked upon *Cromwell* as the princi-
pal Author of his last Marriage; and, though he con-
cealed his Resentment, he was determined that *Crom-
well* should feel its whole Weight, at a Time when he
had the Precedence of all the Lords in the Kingdom,
except the Royal Family: The Nobility envied him;
the Popish Party hated him; and the Duke of *Norfolk*
stirred up the King against him, who now fell in Love
with *Catharine Howard*, the Niece of that Duke, and
Cousin-german to *Anne Bullen*. *Cromwell* was arrested
for High Treason; sent to the Tower, and deserted by
all his Friends, except *Cranmer*, who alone ventured
to write to the King in his Favour, but to no Purpose;
because the Death of this illustrious Minister was de-
creed by the King, without the Knowledge of what he
was guilty. He was attainted in Parliament, without
being allowed to make his Defence; when he was con-
demned as a Traitor and Heretick; soon after which,
he was beheaded; though the King created his Son
Gregory a Peer, by the Title of Lord *Cromwell*.

THE King procured a Divorce from *Anne of Cleve*,
on Pretence that she was pre-engaged to the Prince of
Lorrain; and no Wonder the Divorce was easily obtain-
ed, when the Parliament and Clergy were only the In-
struments to gratify the Passions of the King, instead
of checking his Violence, or exciting him to Modera-
tion: But the Queen consented to the Divorce, and
accepted of a Pension of 4000*l.* a Year, with a Choice
to live in *England*. *Catharine Howard* was then declared
Queen; the King having privately married her before:
She was entirely guided by her Uncle, and the Bishop

A. D. ^{1540.} of *Winchester*; whereby she became an Enemy to the Reformation: but, like her Cousin, she was impeached of Incontinency; for which *Derham*, *Mannock*, and *Culpepper* were executed. The Queen confessed she had prostituted herself before Marriage, but denied she had defiled the nuptial Bed; and, being attainted by the Parliament, was condemned and beheaded on *Tower Hill*, together with the Lady *Rochford*, one of her Confidants, who had before sworn away the Lives of her own Husband and his Sister *Anne Bullen*, whose Characters were now retrieved by the Infamy of their Accuser.

A. D. ^{1542.} *IRELAND* was now erected into a Kingdom; and from thenceforward, the Kings of *England* inserted among their Titles, that of King of *Ireland*; whereas they were before styled only Lords of that Country. The next Year, the King married his sixth Wife, the Lady *Catharine Parr*, Widow of *John Nevil*, Lord *Latimer*: She was a Friend to the Reformers, but could not effect the Reformation: However, she had Enemies, who endeavoured to ruin both her and *Cranmer*; both were accused, and both escaped the Malice of their Enemies.

HENRY saw with Pleasure, that the *French* Monarch and the *Turks* were going to find the Emperor Employment, which would hinder him from thinking of *England*: but he was in some Pain about his Nephew, *James V.* King of *Scotland*, who had no reason to love him, and could easily assist the Malecontents in the northern Counties of *England*: Besides, as *James* was governed by Persons wholly addicted to the Court of *Rome*, *Henry* feared he would at last be led to unite against him with the Pope and Emperor. An Interview was appointed between the two Monarchs at *York*; where *Henry* waited at the Day appointed; but *James* sent an Excuse for not meeting him; which soon caused a Breach between the two Kingdoms; for *Henry* revived the old Pretensions of the Kings of *England* to the Sovereignty of *Scotland*.

THE Duke of *Norfolk* entered *Scotland* with 20,000 Men, and, after plundering the Borders, retired to *Berwick*;

Berwick ; while the Scotch Monarch took the Field A. D. with 25,000 Men, and was fully resolved to give Battle : But the Scotch Nobility and Generals refused to follow their King ; which threw their Army into such Confusion, that they hastily retired on the Sight of a Body of 500 English Horse, who perceived their Disorder, and pursued them, killing great Numbers, and taking several Prisoners, particularly 7 Lords, and 200 Gentlemen, with 24 Pieces of Ordnance. This Route threw the King of Scotland into so much Grief, that it soon occasioned his Death : he was succeeded by his Daughter *Mary*, who was only 7 Days old ; and Henry would have restored Peace by marrying that Princess to his Son *Edward* ; in which he was circumvented by the Projects of Cardinal *Beaton*, Archbishop of St. Andrews ; whereupon he renewed the War.

THE King of England, being displeased with the French Monarch, entered into an Alliance with the Emperor, with a View of compelling Francis to desert his Alliance with the Turks, and to pay Henry whatever he owed him ; though a Neutrality would have been most advantageous to the Nation. However, the chief Motive which induced Henry to enter into this League, was, to find the French Monarch so much Employment at Home, that it should not be in his Power to break his Measures for the Union of Scotland with England, by a Marriage between *Mary* and Prince *Edward*.

GREAT Projects were framed by King Henry and the Emperor, against France, which one was to enter by *Picardy*, and the other by *Champagne* ; each at the Head of 40,000 Men, and to join at *Paris*. But, as these formidable Armies were not yet ready, Henry employed part of his Troops to finish the Affair of Scotland, which he had entirely at Heart. *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, and *John Dudley*, Lord *Lisle*, High Admiral, being appointed for this Expedition ; the former led the Army to *Newcastle*, where the Admiral arrived with a Fleet and 200 Transport Ships, on which the Troops embarked. They landed near *Leith*, on the 4th of *May*, and marched directly to *Edinburgh* ; which

A. D. they sacked and burnt ; but they would not attack the 1544. Castle, for Fear of being engaged in too long a Siege ; and returned to *Berwick*, at a Time when they might have subdued all *Scotland*, if *Henry* had resolved to improve his Advantages.

THE King of *England* withdrew his Forces from *Scotland*, to make his Invasion upon *France*, in Concert with the Emperor, who had already taken the Field. *Henry* sent Part of his Army before him, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who landed at *Calais* ; and was soon joined by the King, with the rest of the Forces : But, instead of uniting their Armies, the Emperor invested *St. Didier*, and *Henry* besieged *Boulogne* ; though the *French* Monarch had only 40,000 Men to oppose them both in the Field. The confederate Princes had no longer any Confidence in each other ; so that the Emperor concluded a separate Peace, without the Knowledge of *Henry* ; though he had taken an Oath to make neither Peace, nor Truce, without his Consent. *Henry* took *Boulogne*, and returned with his Army to *England*, where he fortified his maritime Places ; being apprehensive the *French* would make a Descent on his Coasts.

A. D. THE *French* Monarch assembled a Fleet at *Havre de Grace*, 1545. consisting of 150 great Ships, and 60 smaller ones, with 10 hired of the *Genoese*, and 25 Gallies ; which he commanded to sail to *England*, under Admiral *Annebaut*, who arrived at the Isle of *Wight*, in Sight of *Portsmouth*, on the the 18th of *July*. The *English* Fleet lay at *Portsmouth*, amounting to 60 Ships only, which attacked the *French* ; and, after a slight Skirmish, obliged *Annebaut* to return to *France* ; without obtaining any other Advantage, than making a Descent upon the Isle of *Wight*. But it should be observed, that these Ships, on both Sides, were only Merchantmen, hired for this War.

THE *French* Monarch sent 5000 Men into *Scotland*, commanded by the Count of *Mongomery*, who joined the *Scotch* Troops, consisting of 10,000 Men, and advanced towards the *Tweed* : But, on hearing that the Earl of

Hertford

Hertford was advancing against them, at the Head of A. D. 12,000 Men, they retired, and the Scotch Troops disbanded as usual.

THE War was faintly continued in *France*, because A. D. both *Henry* and *Francis* were desirous of a *Peace*, which was concluded on the 7th of *June*; whereby *Francis* was to pay *Henry* two Millions of *Crowns* in Eight Years; and *Henry* was to remain in Possession of *Boulogne* till the Money was paid. Thus ended the War with *France*, which cost *Henry* 586,718*l.* and the Charges of keeping *Boulogne* Eight Years amounted to 755,833*l.*

SCOTLAND was included in the *Peace* with *France*: But Religion also began to occasion Troubles in the former Kingdom, as well as in *England* and *Germany*. The Council of *Trent* was only an empty Name, made Use of, by the Pope and Emperor, for their own private Views, and to cast a Mist before the Eyes of the Protestant Princes, who took up Arms, and solicited Assistance from the King of *England*: But he made such Propositions, as tended only to make him sole Director and Head of the League; on which Account they rejected his Friendship.

RELIGION was still upon the same Foot in *England*, as the King had been pleased to establish it: For the Reformation had made some Progress; but was far from being brought to Perfection. The King made a very ill Use of the excessive Power he had acquired over all his Subjects: He had been always stern and severe; but was incomparably more so towards the End of his Days, than at the Beginning. His prodigious Corpulency rendered him almost unable to stir; and an old Sore in his Leg became so very painful, as to make him so foward and untractable, that no Person could approach him without Awe. He ordered some considerable Persons to be rigorously prosecuted for refusing to conform to the six Articles, and denying the real Presence in the Sacrament; particularly *Saxton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and *Mrs. Anne Askew*: But the Prelate obtained his Pardon, by abjuring his pretended Heresy; while

A. D. while a Woman shewed him a noble Example, how to
1546. suffer Death for the sake of Religion.

AMONG the Supporters of the old Religion, the Chief were, Chancellor *Wriothesley*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surry*, *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*; who thought this a favourable Opportunity to ruin the Queen, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom they considered as the grand Protectors of the Reformation. *Cranmer* was accused of being the Head of the *Sacramentarians*: But the King gave him a Ring to produce to the Council, as a token that he was under the Royal Protection: And the Queen also artfully escaped the Danger.

THESE two Attempts against the Queen and the Archbishop, proved very prejudicial to the Enemies of the Reformation. *Gardiner* was immediately turned out of Favour. The Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Surry*, were arrested, and sent to the *Tower*: The Father was attainted in Parliament; the Bill of Attainder passed, though it contained only general Accusations; and a Warrant was made out for his Execution; yet he escaped by the Death of the King, which happened the Night before he was to be executed: But his Son was tried at *Guild-ball*, and put upon an Inquest of Commons, who convicted him of High-Treason, and he was be-headed on *Tower-bill* the 19th of *January*, greatly regretted for his great Parts, high Courage, and other noble Qualities; his Sentence being generally condemned as an Act of high Injustice and Severity.

THE King was himself upon his Death-Bed, when he formed the Resolution of sacrificing the Lives of these Noblemen to his Passion and Policy. His Attendants were afraid to warn him of his approaching End: But he became Speechless through a Complication of Disorders, and expired in the Night between the 28th and 29th of *January* 1546-7; being Fifty-six Years of Age, and having reigned Thirty-seven Years and nine Months. His Death was kept private three Days, and he was buried at *Windfor*, on the 16th of *February*, near the Body of his third Queen, the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

THE

THE King, pursuant to the Power given him by *Act* of Parliament in 1543, made his Will on the 30th of December preceding his Death, and settled the Succession as follows. 1st. Upon the Prince of *Wales*, and his Posterity. 2^{dly}. Upon the Children of his present Queen. 3^{dly}. Upon the Princess *Mary*, and her Issue; on Condition, that she married with the Consent of his Executors. 4^{thly}. Upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; with the same Promise. 5^{thly}. Upon the Lady *Frances Brandon*, Daughter to his Sister the Queen of *France*, by the Duke of *Suffolk*. 6^{thly}. Upon the Lady *Eleanor Brandon*, younger Sister to *Frances*. Lastly, Failing all those to the next of Kin. He appointed sixteen Executors; and charged the Prince of *Wales*, to be subject to his Council, till eighteen Years of Age.

KING *Henry* had six Wives. 1st. *Catbarine of Arragon*, from whom he was divorced. 2^d. *Anne Bullen*, whom he be-headed. 3^d. *Jane Seymour*, who died in Child-Bed. 4th. *Anne of Cleve*, whose Marriage he annulled. 5th. *Catbarine Howard*, whom he be-headed. And, 6th. *Catbarine Parr*, who survived him. By the 1st. He had Issue *Henry*, who died about two Months old; another Son not named; and *Mary*, who succeeded to the Throne. By the 2^d. He had the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards Queen, and a Son still-born. And by the 3^d. He had *Edward*, who came immediately to the Crown, upon the Death of his Father. Besides, he had a natural Son, called *Henry Fitz-Roy*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*.

THE Appearance of King *Henry* was goodly; and his Presence had the Stamp of Majesty upon it: But he wore all his Character in his Face and Deportment.

SIR *Walter Raleigh*, says, "That, if all the Pictures and Patterns of a merciles Prince were lost in the World, they might all again be painted to the Life, out of this King." But this Character of him is not to be justified, no more than that of Sir *Robert Naunton*, who remarks, "That he never spared Man in his Anger, or Woman in his Lust." The Life and Actions of this Prince

Prince make him sufficiently known ; and Bishop *Burnet* says, " He is rather to be reckoned among the great, than the good Princes : He exercised so much Severity on Men of both Persuasions, that the Writers of both Sides have laid open his Faults, and taxed his Cruelty : But this Prelate owns, he does not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill Princes ; yet he cannot rank him with the Worst." It has also been observed, that, as he had perverted Law to the Destruction of Humanity, so he established Religion upon the Ruins of Reason. He was ungenerous to *Woolsey*, severe to *Cromwell*, and unjust to *Norfolk*. He wanted to seem superior to human Nature : The Consequence of which was, that he became a Stranger to its virtuous Weaknesses, and a Slave to its impetuous Passions.

THE first Occasion of Divorce, and also of the Reformation, were not altogether unjustifiable ; though the Circumstances inducing it are justly suspected ; and it was concluded a Reason sought, rather than one offered. But those who say he was a King of a great deal of Honour, and a good-natured Generosity ; who think he was careful to maintain the civil Constitution, and devout to the Privileges of Parliament ; will also acknowledge, that he cannot be so well justified in his Politics, in contradicting by his Will, the Disposition of the Crown, and its Succession, which he had before established in Parliament, especially to bring in the Princess *Mary*, after his Subjects had sworn to the Parliamentary Succession of his Daughter *Elizabeth*. However, " Considering him as a stubborn Stock, he was still fortuitously valuable : for from the Stubbornness of this Root have arose those fair Branches, which now afford Shelter to the civil and religious Liberties of Mankind."

IN the Twenty-third Year of his Reign, *Richard Rice*, a Cook, was boiled to Death in *Smithfield*, for poisoning several Persons. In the Year 1546, the public Stews, which had long been allowed by the State, were suppressed ; being a continued Row of eighteen Houses, along the *Thames* Side in *Southwark*, and distinguished

tinguished by Signs. And, in this Reign, though the particular Time is not mentioned, the Government of the President of the North was instituted.

In our Eighth HENRY, both the *Roses* join ;
The old Lancastrian and the Yorkist Line.
The Spanish Princess, late young Arthur's Bride,
Is Henry's Wife, and such for Years ally'd :
But Love, or Conscience, broke the Monarch's Rest ;
And beauteous Bullen reigns within his Breast.
He then determines, without papal Aid,
His Cath'rine to divorce, and wed the Maid.
He, whom the Roman Pontiff lately stil'd
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, is now revil'd,
For shaking off the superstitious Yoke,
Which soon the Romish Pow'r in England broke.

Aspiring Woolsey, who could Nations sway,
And make ev'n Monarchs his Commands obey ;
Whose Wealth was equal to his boundless Pride,
Disgrac'd like some poor Vassal, meanly dy'd.
Nor faithful Cromwell 'scapes his Prince's Rage,
Though the Delight and Wonder of the Age.
Yet pious Cranmer Heav'n awhile defends,
To bless his Country's, and Religion's Friends :
Beneath whose Care the REFORMATION springs,
And England's Bliss is brought on Angel's Wings.
The Monkish Dissonance and Pride abate ;
Suppress their Houses, to enrich the State :
The lazy Drones are scatter'd from their Hives,
Weak in their Learning, useless in their Lives :
Yet Superstition fills Rebellion's Hand,
And Civil Rage awhile infests the Land :
But soon the Storm subsides, and the fair Day
Is usher'd by Religion's orient Ray.

While gallant Surry bleeds, without a Crime ;
The Glory of his Nation, Blood, and Time.

England, on France, now pours the Storm of War ;
And Scotland bows beneath the English Spear.
Boulogne is taken ; and, in Floddon's Field,
The Thistle does to England's Roses yield.

While

While *Ireland* takes a more resplendent Name,
A Kingdom! to illustrate *Henry's* Fame.

Ah! hapless *Bullen*, we lament thy Fate;
Yet from thee sprang the Pride of *England's* State.
Ungrateful *Henry*! thy selected Wives
Deserv'd not such severe, unhappy Lives:
And in their Deaths, let us the Truth impart,
"Beauty may win, but cannot fix a Tyrant's Heart."

*XXI. EDWARD VI. the forty-first
King of England, the twenty-first from
the Norman Conquest, and the third of
the Line of Tudor.*

THE Constitution of *England* received a greater Alteration under *Henry VIII.* than under *Henry VII.* which was principally owing to the Wealth brought from *America*, the Prosecution of Commerce by the Commons, the Luxury of the Nobility, and the Seizure of the ecclesiastical Property by the King; who, like *Augustus in Rome*, left the Forms of the Constitution untouched, but loaded them with several Courts of Oppression. Upon this Account, the Balance of Power, against the Crown, was inclining towards the Commons; though before it had always rested with the Lords. The Baronies became weakened, the Boroughs grew powerful, and their Representatives began to speak with the Voice of Freedom in Parliament; while the King was intent upon reducing the chief Nobility, among whom he had exalted several of his meanest Subjects, by the Virtue of his Prerogative, which was first exerted upon this Occasion by his Predecessors, before whose Time Nobility generally came by a Baronial Tenure, or by a Patent approved of and passed by Parliament. The immense Estates of the Church passed through the Hands of the Courtiers into those

those of the Commons: but, on the Death of the King, the Nobility endeavoured to crush their Power, and succeeded so far as to take away the Life of the Protector, Duke of *Somerset*, who depended upon the Commons.

HENRY VIII. who was left so rich by his Father, left his own Son very poor, who was only nine Years and three Months old when he ascended the Throne. His Father had fixed his Majority to the eighteenth Year of his Age: but he died before he came to it, after a short Reign of five Years and six Months; so that the History of his Reign will not be so much the History of the King himself, as of his Governors and Ministers.

THE young King was conducted from *Hertford* to A. D. the Tower of *London*, where he was proclaimed on the ^{1547.} 31st of *January*, 1547; and he was crowned at *Westminster* on the 20th of *February* following: so that *England* now saw a real sixth *Edward* for its Monarch, instead of a fictitious one, as was *Lambert Simnel*, who, in 1486, was proclaimed King in *Dublin*, by the Name of *Edward VI.*

HENRY had nominated sixteen Persons to be his Executors, Regents of the Kingdom, and Governors of his Son; as also a Privy-Council, consisting of 12 Members to be assisting to the Regency. *Edward Seymour*, Earl of *Hertford*, and Uncle to the King, was the principal Person in the Regency; who had many noble Qualities, and few Imperfections. *Archbishop Cranmer* was also one of the Regents, and a Friend to the Earl of *Hertford*, who, as well as this excellent Prelate, shewed a very great Zeal for the Reformation; and to both of them is properly due every Thing that was done in Favour of Religion during the Reign of *Edward VI.* for which the Earl fell a Sacrifice of Popery in the present Reign, and the Archbishop in that which succeeded.

THE Earl of *Hertford* was created Duke of *Somerset*, and elected the Protector of the King's Realm, and the Governor of his Person; though this Election was opposed

A. D. sed by the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, notwithstanding
^{1547.} it was made on the express Condition, that the Protector
should do nothing without the Consent of the other Regents.
 He was also made Lord Treasurer and Earl Marshal ;
 which Offices were made vacant by the Attainder of the
 Duke of *Suffolk*. His Brother, *Thomas Seymour*, was
 created Baron of *Sudley*, and appointed High Admiral
 of *England* ; whereby the *Seymour* Family was exalted
 to such Greatness, that it was hardly possible to make
 any Addition to it : but the two Brothers, by their Dis-
 sentions, fell into a Gulf of Misfortunes, which might
 have been avoided by a small Share of Moderation.

At the Coronation of the King, there were forty
 Knights of the Bath made on this Occasion, and fifty
 five Knights of the Carpet. The Lord Chancellor was
 created Earl of *Southampton* ; and some other Honours
 conferred upon the Regents : but the Chancellor, who
 was an Enemy to the Reformation and the Protector,
 was deprived of the Seals, for empowering Commis-
 sioners to execute his Office in the Court of Chancery.
 The Protector also deprived the other Regents from
 their Authority, by obtaining a Patent for confirm-
 ing his Protectorship, with such Power that the
 others became only Counsellors to him, without be-
 ing obliged to follow their Advice. But such Pro-
 ceedings drew upon him the Envy and Hatred of the
 Nobility, who had Reason to make Objections against
 this Patent, which destroyed the Form of the Govern-
 ment established by *Henry VIII.* pursuant to an Act of
 Parliament, that the King himself had not Power
 to annul.

HENRY the Eighth steered a middle Course with re-
 spect to Religion, reforming some Things, and leaving
 others untouched : but the Protector and his Friends
 were now to make Use of the Opportunity they had of
 improving the Reformation ; the chief Supporters of
 his Party being Arch-Bishop *Cranmer* ; *Holgate*, Arch-
 Bishop of *York* ; *Holbeach*, Bishop of *Lincoln* ; *Goodrich*,
 Bishop of *Ely* ; Doctor *Ridley* ; and *Latimer*, who was
 released from his Imprisonment. They were opposed
 by

by the Romish Party, who were headed by the Princess A. D. *Mary*, the disgraced Earl of *Southampton*, *Tonstall*, Bishop^{1547.} of *Durham*, *Bonner* of *London*, and *Gardiner* of *Winchester*. The Book of Homilies, composed by Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*, was published: and, to set the rest of the Kingdom an Example, Evening Prayer began to be read in *English*, in the Royal Chapel. A general Visitation of all the Churches was ordered, and Visiters appointed, with Power to abolish some gross Abuses introduced into the Divine Service, and particularly with regard to Images; which commenced the Execution of the Design for perfecting the Reformation. All the Bishops complied with the Orders of the Council, in submitting to the Commissioners of Visitation, except *Bonner* and *Gardiner*; which gave the Protector a Pretence of sending them Prisoners to the Fleet, notwithstanding the Opposition made by the Princess *Mary* to such a Proceedure.

THE French Monarch, *Henry* the second, refused to renew the Alliance with *England*, which had been agreed upon by *Francis* the first: he also thought of recovering *Boulogne*; and assisting the *Scotch*, if *England* attempted to compel the young Queen of *Scotland* to marry King *Edward*. The *Scotch* were averse to this Match, and the Duke of *Somerset* was resolved to make War upon *Scotland*, to compel them to execute the Treaty made with *Henry* the eighth, who left his Affairs with *Scotland* in such a Situation, that the agreed Marriage between *Edward* and the young Queen, was to be relinquished, or executed by Force of Arms.

FRANCE offered a fruitless Negociation; and the Protector entered the Territories of *Scotland*, on the second of September, with an Army of 18,000 Men. The Earl of *Arran*, Regent of *Scotland*, advanced against the Protector of *England* with an Army of 30,000 Men, and 30 Pieces of Cannon. Both Armies were parted by the River *Ese*; and the *Scotch* were so confident of Victory, that they rejected all Terms of an Accommodation: upon which a Battle ensued, on the 10th of September,

A. D. September, on the Field of *Pinkay*, near *Musselbrough*, and
1547. *Preston Pans*, in the Shire of *East Lothian*, six Miles east
 of *Edinburgh*; wherein the *Scotch* were defeated, with
 the Loss of 14,000 killed, and 1500 Prisoners, of whom
 800 were Gentlemen; but it is surprizing that the *Eng-*
lish lost only fifty-one Horsemen, and one Foot Soldier.

ALL *Scotland* was in the greatest Consternation: the *English* Army entered *Edinburgh* without Opposition; and their Fleet burnt several Sea-port Towns, with all the Ships in the Harbours. But while the Protector was victorious in *Scotland*, he had like to have been ruined in *England*; where his ambitious Brother, the Admiral, was contriving the Destruction of the Protector, who received Intelligence of what was transacting against him; and found himself obliged to abandon that Success which might have been of the greatest Advantage to his Nation, for his own Preservation. Accordingly, he departed for *England* on the 18th of *September*, where his Campaign in *Scotland* put the Nation in mind of several noble Actions performed by him in the last Reign: he became the Idol of the People, and the Envy of the Nobility: but he had too much Reliance on the former, while he had such little Interest with the latter.

NOTHING was done by the King without the Direction of the Protector, and the Council was entirely at his Command, when the Parliament met on the 4th of *November*, and passed several material Acts, relating some to the State, and others to Religion; particularly one, which limited treasonable Offences; and repealed the Act which made the King's Proclamation of equal Authority with Acts of Parliament. Private Masses were abolished, and the Cup was given to the People in the Communion. A very remarkable Act was passed against Vagabonds, which subjected idle Persons to the Condition of Slaves; but this was repugnant to the Fundamentals of the Constitution, and was soon repealed. Besides, the Parliament gave the King all the Lands designed for the Maintenance of Chanceries, Chapels, and Colleges, unpossessed by his Father; which brought in a considerable Revenue: for there were

2374 of these Channries and Chapels in the Kingdom; A. D. and, though they were valued only at 2593*l.* they were ^{1547.} sold for 46,249*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.* However, there was a Clause in the Act, importing, that these Lands should be converted to the Maintenance of Grammar-Schools and Preachers; in Consequence of which, there were Schools founded by King Edward at *Shrewsbury*, *St. Edmundsbury*, *Spillesby* and *Louth* in *Lincolnsire*, *Chelmsford*, *Sedbergh* in *Yorkshire*, *East-Retford* in *Nottinghamshire*, *Birmingham*, *Morpeth*, *Macclesfield*, *Nun-Eaton*, *Stourbridge*, *Bath*, *Bedford*, *Guildford*, *Grantham*, *Thorne*, *Giggleswicke*, *St. Albans*, *Tunbridge*, *Southampton*, *Stratford upon Avon*, and some other Places; which were principally endowed out of the Chantry Lands.

THE Reformation had taken proper Root in *England* ^{A.D. 1548.} But it seemed declining in *Germany*, where the Emperor had made the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, Prisoners; on which Account, *Peter Martyr*, *Bucer*, *Fagius*, and *Ochinus* took Sanctuary in *England*, who were eminent Divines, and were very favourably received. The Council ordered that all Images in general should be removed from the Churches; and *Gardiner* was sent to the *Tower* for opposing it, on the Maxim that no Alteration could be made in Religion till the King was of Age.

AMONG all the Enviers of the Protector, there was not one more passionate against him than his Brother, Admiral *Thomas Seymour*; who wanted to have a Share in the Administration of the Government. He had some Abilities, but more Pride; and, after giving Proofs of his Ambition in making his Addresses to the Princess *Elizabeth*, he privately married the Queen-Dowager, *Catharine Parr*; which gave great Displeasure to the Protector: But the Admiral was only bringing on his own Destruction. The Council, being informed he was contriving something against the Government, sent him to the *Tower*, and he was charged with committing several Misdemeanours in the Admiralty. Articles of Accusation were exhibited against him, which he refused to answer without being brought to

A. D. to an Open Trial: but this was very unjustifiably denied 1548. to him, though he was a Peer of the Realm: So that he was attainted in Parliament, condemned, and beheaded, on the 20th of *March*, 1549. He protested, with his last Breath, that he had formed no ill Design either against the King or State: But this is not the only Time that Plots against the Ministers have been reckoned High-Treason. The Protector was censured for his Cruelty; and, perhaps, he was encouraged by his Enemies to take away the Life of his Brother, to render himself odious to the People, and take away his own. Some say, the first Occasion of the Quarrel between the two Brothers, sprung from the Dutches of *Somerset's* Envy at the Queen-Dowager, Wife to the Admiral, of whom she pretended to take Place as the Protector's Lady: But others think, it is unlikely she should be so void of Sense, or so ignorant of the Customs of *England*, as to dispute the Precedence with the Queen-Dowager: Besides, the Queen died in *September* in Child-bed; which must have put an End to such a Quarrel.

THE War with *Scotland* gave the Protector great Uneasiness, especially as the *French* King was preparing to assist the *Scotch* Regent, who refused a ten Years Truce: Therefore, the Protector was obliged to continue the War against his Inclination, and left the Command of the Army to *Francis Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, whom he appointed his Lieutenant. The Regent of *Scotland* opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Broughty-Castle*, which he besieged in vain, with 8000 Men, for three Months: While the *English* took the Castle of *Haddington*, and made Excursions to the very Gates of *Edinburgh*. The *Scots* received an Aid of 6000 Men from *France*, commanded by *Dessè d'Espanvilliers*; and the united Forces besieged *Haddington*: But the Earl of *Shrewsbury* marched against them with 17,000 Men, and obliged them to raise the Siege. However, the Earl withdrew his Forces into *England*, and the *French* General invaded the Borders; while the young Queen of *Scotland* was sent to the Court of *France*: Though the *Scotch*

Scotch repented it, when they saw the French pay less A. D. regard to them ; and, that, by delivering the Queen to ^{1549.} the French King, they were going to be at the Mercy of their Ally.

THE Emperor was labouring to destroy the Reformation in *Germany*, which daily made fresh Progress in *England*, where a new Liturgy was composed, and is the same made Use of at this Day, excepting a few Alterations. Commissioners were appointed to establish the Liturgy in all the Churches : But the Princess *Mary* refused to submit to the Change. Some *German* Anabaptists were come into *England*, and *Joan Bocher*, who had been seduced to their Errors, was burnt for a Heretic : But the young King set his Hand to the Warrant with Tears in his Eyes ; telling Archbishop *Cranmer*, “ That if he did wrong, since it was in Submission to his Authority, he should answer for it to God.”

THE Suppression of the Abbies, and the Act against A. D. ^{1549.} Vagabonds, obliged the lazy Monks to become industrious, and work for their Livelihood ; which reduced the Price of Labour, and made the common People discontented ; especially as the Rents were much raised, since the Abbey Lands were fallen into the Hands of the Nobility and Gentry ; Inclosures made for breeding Sheep ; and Agriculture neglected, whereby the Price of Corn was increased. The Monks inflamed the Minds of the People, by making them believe there was a settled Design to ruin them, and reduce them to Slavery : Upon which, there were Insurrections in several Counties : But the strongest arose in *Devonshire*, and was headed by *Humphry Arundel*, a *Cornish* Gentleman, who had 10,000 Men under his Command. The Protector offered to redress all their Grievances : But their Demands struck at the Root of the Reformation, and were too extravagant to be complied with : Whereupon they besieged *Exeter*, which was gallantly defended by the Inhabitants, who were greatly animated by an old Citizen, that told them, “ He would feed on one Arm, and fight with the other, before he would consent to put the City into the Hands of the Seditious.” In the mean

A. D. mean Time, the Lord *Russel* was sent against the Rebels, 1549. with 1200 Men; who obliged them to raise the Siege: When they divided into small Parties, and were easily dispersed one after another. *Arundel*, *Boyer* Mayor of *Bodmyn*, and some others were executed; which put an End to the Insurrection in *Devonshire*; while other Commotions broke out in *Norfolk* and *Yorkshire*.

THE *Norfolk* Rebels amounted to 20,000 Men, and were headed by one *Ket*, a Tanner; against whom the Marquis of *Northampton* was sent with 1500 Men. These Rebels had neither the Cause nor Pretence of Religion for their Rising; their Design being to reform the State, by destroying the Gentry, and putting some of their own Body about the King to direct and govern him. *Ket* advanced to *Moushold-Hill*, above the City of *Norwich*, where he erected a Sort of a Tribunal, to administer Justice as a Sovereign, under an old Oak, called from thence, *The Oak of Reformation*. The Marquis of *Northampton* attacked the Rebels; but was defeated, with the Loss of above 100 of his Men killed, among whom was *Edmund Lord Sheffield*. This obliged the Protector to send the Army designed against *Scotland*, to oppose the *Norfolk* Rebels. It was composed of 6000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*, who defeated the Rebels, on the 27th of *August*, killed 2000, and took many Prisoners, among whom was *Ket* their Captain, who atoned for his Crime on a Gibbet at *Norwich*.

THE *Yorkshire* Rebels never amounted to more than 3000 Men: But the Protector offered them a Pardon, which they accepted, and returned to their Allegiance. During these Insurrections, and undoubtedly upon Account of them, the Lords Lieutenants of the Counties were first instituted: But Tranquility was no sooner settled at Home, than fresh Troubles broke out Abroad.

ACCORDING to the Maxim of *Henry the Second of France*, “ The most solemn Treaties were to go for nothing.” He saw that the Commotions in *England* presented him with an Opportunity of invading the Territory of *Boulogne*, which he entered at the Head of an Army,

Army, though there had been no Declaration of War A. D. since the last Treaty of Peace. He took several Castles ^{1549.} in the *Boulonnois*: But was repulsed at *Bullenberg*; and, though he laid Siege to *Boulogne*, he was obliged to turn it into a Blockade: While he was also repulsed in his Attempts on the *Norman Islands*, and his Fleet was defeated near *Jersey*. However, he distressed *England*, by assisting *Scotland*; where *de Thermes*, who succeeded *Dessè*, took *Broughty-Castle*: Which obliged the *English* to demolish *Haddington*.

THE Charges of the Wars and Fortifications, from the Beginning of the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, to the Year 1549, amounted to 1,356,687*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* which made the Protector sensible, there was Danger of raising new Commotions among the People, in demanding fresh Subsidies of the Parliament: Therefore, he made a Proposal to the Council of restoring *Boulogne* to the *French*, which would also terminate the War in *Scotland*: But it was rejected by the Council with Indignation. The Earls of *Warwick* and *Southampton* became the declared Enemies of the Protector, and attempted to bring on his Ruin; wherein they were successful: For they caused it to be rumoured, that he favoured the late *Rebellions*, and pardoned the Rebels, contrary to the Minds of the Council: That he entertained foreign Troops; and was building a more stately Palace, than any that belonged to the King. This Palace was *Somerset-House* in the *Strand*, which still bears his Name: And the People were incensed, that he should pull down the Houses belonging to the Bishops of *Litchfield*, *Worcester*, and *Landaff*, together with the Parish Church, to make Room for this magnificent Building. The Protector was not ignorant of the Proceedings of his Enemies, and removed the King from *Hampton-Court* to *Windfor*; which occasioned several Lords of the Council to meet at *Ely-House*, privately armed; when they prevailed upon the City of *London*, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to forsake the Interest of the Protector; who was entirely discouraged when he received the Information; upon which, he was

A. D. deserted by the rest of the Council, and the whole
1549. Body declared the Duke unworthy of the Protector-
ship.

THE King was obliged to approve of their Measures, and the Duke was called before the Council at *Windsor*, to hear the Articles of his Accusation, which contained no Charge either of Fraud, Rapine, or Extortion: However, he was sent to the *Tower*, with some of his Confidants; and an Order was made that the Government of the King's Person should be committed to six Lords, of whom the Earl of *Warwick* was the Head, though without any Title that might give him a particular Authority.

A. D. THE Enemies of the Reformation gloried in the Fall
1550. of the Protector: But *Warwick* artfully favoured the Reformists, because he knew it would please the King. The Parliament repealed the late Statutes against *Vagrants*; and passed a Bill of Attainder against the Duke of *Somerset*; upon which, he was fined by Act of Parliament in 2000*l.* a Year of Land, with the Forfeiture of all his Goods, and the Loss of all his Places. He then received a Pardon, and was restored to a Place in the Council: While his Enemies confirmed the new Liturgy, and dashed all the Hopes of the *Romish* Church, by sending *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*, again to the *Tower*, after he had been released.

IT was during this Sessions of Parliament, that the eldest Sons of Peers were first permitted to sit in the House of Commons. The Lords of the Council were now directed by the Earl of *Warwick*, who was made High Admiral, *Great Master of the Household*, and soon after Duke of *Northumberland*. He had violently exclaimed against the Duke of *Somerset*, for proposing the Restitution of *Boulogne*: But the War with *France* made him so uneasy that he was obliged to adopt the same Sentiments, and enter into a Negotiation with *France*: In Consequence of which, a Treaty was concluded near *Boulogne*, whereby that City was to be restored to *France*, on Payment of 400,000 Crowns of Gold; and the King of *England* relinquished his Project of marrying

ing the Queen of *Scotland*, who was designed for the A. D. Dauphin of *France*; whereby an End was put to the ^{1550.} War with *Scotland*. By this Treaty, all the Pains taken by *Henry the Eighth*, to secure a Pension, or rather a yearly Tribute, instead of the Title he pretended to have to the Crown of *France*, were rendered ineffectual: Because, in Favour of *England*, the Treaty contained only an indeterminate Reservation of the Claim which had occasioned the Effusion of so much Blood since the Reign of *Edward the Third*, so that there remained to the Kings of *England*, only the empty Title of King of *France*; and none of the Successors of *Edward the Sixth* ever seriously thought of prosecuting their pretended Right.

THE Earl of *Warwick* feigned an Indisposition, that he might not sign the Ratification of a Peace he had so much exclaimed against formerly: But the Restitution of *Boulogne* opened the Eyes of the People, who expressed their Resentment, that this Place should be delivered up for 400,000 Crowns, in lieu of the two Millions which the late *French* Monarch had promised to pay to the late King of *England*. However, the Earl made the People easy, by appearing very forward in completing the Reformation: And, this Year, the City of *London* purchased from the King all the Liberties of *Southwark*, for a thousand Marks: While, upon the Vacancies of several Sees, the best, and almost all the Manors belonging to them, were surrendered to the King, and distributed among the Courtiers; though, to make some Sort of Compensation, there were bestowed upon the same Sees, either worse Manors, or else Rectories, and impropriated Tithes.

CHosen Commissioners were preparing a Confession A. D. of Faith, which was the last mortal Wound to be given ^{1551.} to the old Religion. Ambassadors were sent to *France*, who concluded a Treaty of Marriage between the King of *England*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Henry the Second*, whose Portion was to be only 200,000 Crowns, and her Dower as great as any

A D. Queen of *England* had ever enjoyed: But King *Edward*
1551. died before the Marriage was consummated.

THE Earl of *Warwick* being created Duke of *Northumberland*, *Henry Grey* Marquis of *Northampton* was made Duke of *Suffolk*: But the Ruin of the Duke of *Somerset* was determined; for the Duke of *Northumberland* had the ambitious Project of excluding the two Princesses, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, from the Succession, and of marrying his Son to the Lady *Jane Grey*, eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and of *Frances Brandon*, who was the next in the Succession after those Princesses; while his eldest Son was married to the Duke of *Somerset*'s Daughter. The King was near the Time of his Majority, and the Duke of *Somerset* received frequent and public Marks of his Esteem; which made the Duke of *Northumberland* very uneasy, as he plainly saw, it would be almost impossible to execute his Projects while he had such an Inspector as the Duke of *Somerset*, who was therefore to be ruined in the King's Favour, and to receive such Mortifications as should throw him upon Actions that would give an Advantage against him. Few have the Prudence, or Moderation, to avoid falling into such Snares. The King was prejudiced against his Uncle; and taught to believe that he had formed a Plot to assassinate the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*: Upon which the King consented that he should be brought to his Trial, and committed his best Friend to the *Tower*, on the 17th of *October*. The next Day, the Duchess of *Somerset*, with two of her Women, were also arrested; after which, the Earl of *Arundel*, and the Lord *Paget*, underwent the same Fate.

As soon as the Duke of *Somerset* was in the *Tower*, his pretended Crimes were every where published, with such an Exaggeration as might impose upon the Minds of the People. He was charged with having project-ed to get himself declared Protector in the next Parliament; and with some extravagant Accusations: But, as the Custom of bringing the Witnesses face to face had been

been some Time laid aside, the Cause depended upon A. D. their Depositions, without any Possibility of receiving ^{1551.} from thence an unquestionable Truth of the Proof of the Facts ; especially as they were put to the Torture, to extort Confessions ; though it is easily seen what great Alterations the confronting of Witnesses is capable of producing in apparently the most positive Depositions.

THE Duke was brought to his Trial before the Peers, on the first of *December* ; the Crimes laid against him being thrown into three Articles. “ That he had designed to seize on the King’s Person, and the Administration of the public Affairs. That he intended to imprison the Duke of *Northumberland*. And that he had formed a Design to raise an Insurrection in the City of *London*. ” The first and third of these Articles were High-Treason : but the second was only Felony. The Peers unanimously acquitted him of Treason ; but found him guilty of Felony ; probably upon the Statute of the third of *Henry* the seventh, which declared it Felony to intend to take away the Life of a Privy-Counsellor. This was stretching very far that severe Law, which perhaps was never executed before, especially upon a Duke, Peer of the Realm, and Uncle to the King : Besides, he was not charged with an *Intention* to kill any Privy-Counsellor ; but only with a Design to secure the Person of the Duke of *Northumberland*. When the People, who were present at the Trial, saw he was returned not Guilty of Treason, they shouted so loud for Joy, that their Acclamations were heard from *Westminster-Hall* to *Long-Acre* ; but their tumultuous Joy was turned into the deepest Sorrow, when they unexpectedly heard he was condemned for Felony.

IT was generally expected that the Duke would receive a Pardon, because his Execution was deferred almost two Months : but the young King was too much prepossessed to the Prejudice of his Uncle ; and great Care was taken to divert him with pleasing Amusements, that he might not reflect upon this strange

80 A NEW HISTORY

A. D 1551 Condemnation. The Friends of the Duke of Somerset were prevented from approaching the King; who, on the 22d of January, signed an Order for his Execution. The same Day he was brought to the Scaffold on Tower-hill, attended by Doctor Cox, at seven o'Clock in the Morning; and great Precautions had been taken by the Council, for keeping the Citizens of London within Doors 'till the Execution was over. The Duke addressed himself to the Spectators, declaring his Innocence towards his King, and his Fidelity towards his Country. A Confusion happened; and the People expected a Pardon; on which the Air was filled with a general Cry of, God save the King! but the Tumult abated, and no Pardon arrived. When the Duke had ended his Speech, he turned to his private Devotions; then calmly laid his Head on the Block, and received the fatal Blow with the greatest Resignation; while Floods of Tears streamed from the Eyes of the Spectators.

Thus fell the great and unhappy Duke of Somerset, only for an Intention to commit an Offence, not against the King or State, but against some private Persons: He liv'd the Darling of a People, who could not support him in his Distress: he died a Victim to a Faction whom he had despised in his Greatness. Religion, since his Days, has seen but few Friends so sincere, and England fewer Patriots so honest, as this Duke of Somerset. The People, who are seldom mistaken in their Judgment of great Men, were so generally persuaded of his Innocence, that many dipped their Handkerchiefs in his Blood, considering him as a Sort of Martyr. But the Duke of Northumberland also lost his Life on the Scaffold at the Beginning of the next Reign, for the ambitious Project he had formed in this, which brought the Duke of Somerset there; and, when Northumberland was leading to the Tower, a Woman shook one of these bloody Handkerchiefs at him, saying, "Behold, the Blood which thou didst cause to be unjustly shed, now begins to revenge itself on thee."

ABOUT a Month after this Execution, Sir Ralph Vane,

Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundel, were also put to Death, for being Accomplices with the Duke of *Somerset*; but they all protested their Innocence: while *Palmer, Crane, and Bartuille*, who had served as Witnesses against the Duke, were readily discharged: and it was observed, there was a great Intimacy afterwards between *Palmer* and the Duke of *Northumberland*; which occasioned the People to believe, that *Palmer* had been corrupted to betray the Duke of *Somerset*, who had honoured him with his Friendship.

THE Parliament stopt the pernicious Custom of condemning People without confronting the Witnesses, by passing an Act, that none should be attainted of Treason, unless two Witnesses should come, and to their Face aver the Fact for which they were to be tried, except such as should confess it. The Commons, by rejecting a Clause in a Bill from the Lords, which asserted the Duke of *Somerset* and his Accomplices were justly attainted, shewed their Opinion of his Innocence. The Duke of *Northumberland* attempted to get *Tonstall, Bishop of Durham*, condemned, who had been accused of Misprision of Treason; but, though the Lords readily passed the Bill for attainting him, the Commons would not proceed upon it, because it was intended to condemn the Bishop without confronting the Witnesses.

SOME Progress was made in the Reformation: the Marriage of the Clergy was declared good and valid; which had been for some Time considered by the People only as tolerated: the Psalms of *David* were translated by *Sternbold and Hopkins*; which continues in use to this Day; though their Poetry is so very mean and inelegant: *Heath and Day*, Bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, were deprived, for too openly opposing the Reformation: and the Bishopric of *Westminster* was suppressed.

ABOUT this Time, the Corporation of *German Merchants*, who lived in the *Still-Yard*, was dissolved, because it was become detrimental to *England*, by engrossing the whole Woollen Trade, which was now very considerable: for it was proved, that this Body

82 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. exported 44000 Cloths in 1551, and all the *English* 1552. Merchants together did not export above 1100. *Antwerp* and *Hamburgh* had then the chief Trade of *Europe*, and their Factors in the *Still-Yard* had all the Markets of *England* in their Hand; which occasioned the Merchant Adventurers to complain of them, and get the Company dissolved: when a Project was set on Foot for opening *Hull* and *Southampton*, as two free Mart Towns in *England*; but it was not executed for want of Time.

A. D. THE Duke of *Northumberland* directed the Affairs 1553. of the Government, dissolved the Parliament, and got a new one consisting of Representatives who were chiefly attached to his Interest: but they were dissolved in a Month, after endeavouring to stain the Memory of the late Duke of *Somerset*; though an Act was made for the restoring in Blood, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Knight, who was eldest Son of the Duke by his second Wife.

THE young King had been seized ever since *January* with a Distemper which brought him to the Grave: for, in *April* 1552, he fell sick of the Measles, which probably might bring on a Consumption. He saw Death approaching without any Fears as to himself; but could not reflect, without an extreme Concern, on the future State of Religion, under his Sister *Mary*, who was to be his Successor. The Duke of *Northumberland* found the King was past all Hopes of Recovery; and married the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, his fourth Son, to the Lady *Jane Grey*, eldest Daughter of the new Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Frances Brandon*, who in the Will of *Henry* the eighth was the next in the Succession after the Princess *Elizabeth*. *Northumberland* then represented to the King, that there was but one Way to prevent the Misfortunes *England* was threatned with, in Case the Princess *Mary* ascended the Throne; and that was to settle the Crown on the Lady *Jane Grey*, his Daughter-in-law; because it was proper to exclude the Princess *Elizabeth*, as well as her Sister, on the Pretence of Illegitimacy. The young King had a great Esteem and Affection for Lady *Jane Grey*, who was a most accomplished Person both in Mind and Body; and, as he only thought of saving the

the Reformation from impending Destruction, he ap- A. D. pointed her his Successor, by an Assignment of the 1553. Crown, drawn up by the Judges, and attested by the Privy-Counsellors.

THE Distemper increased upon the King, and he died in the Arms of Sir *Henry Sidney*, Son-in-law to the Duke of *Northumberland*, on the 6th of *July*, after giving sensible Proofs of a true Piety. He was buried on the 8th of *August*, in *Westminster Abbey*, and laid near the Body of *Henry the seventh*, his Grandfather. He died in the 16th Year of his Age ; after he had reigned six Years, five Months, and nine Days.

CARDAN, the famous *Italian* Philosopher, says, that all the Graces were in *Edward*, who had many Tongues, when yet but a Child : Together with the *English*, he had *Latin* and *French* ; nor was he ignorant of the *Greek*, *Italian*, and *Spanish*. The Sweetness of his Temper was such as became a Mortal ; his Gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his Disposition was suitable to his Degree. He began to love the liberal Arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them. In him there was such an Attempt of Nature, that not only *England*, but the World, had Reason to lament his being so early snatched away.

EDWARD seems to have been born and designed for the Advancement of Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity : But was taken from this World to the Disappointment of human Expectations ; to intimate, that there is no Establishment of Felicity to be relied on here below. His Person was beautiful, and his Temper lively. His Discretion was far above his Years ; for he kept private Registers, wherein he marked down the Characters, Manners, Religion, Principles, and *Œconomy* of his greatest Subjects. He studied the Intricacies of the Coinage ; and understood the Principles of Trade, as also the true Maxims which the *English* ought to pursue with foreign Countries, to much greater Perfection than any Author who wrote at that Time on those Subjects. His perpetual Attention to Commerce assisted him in the Formation of Schemes for the Improve-

ment of his maritime Power, the Security of his Coasts, and the Protection of his Shipping. In such a licentious Age, he had Qualities enough to have introduced private Virtue once more into Reputation ; while his Judgment was so strong, as at once to reanimate and employ the public Virtue of his People. His Charity was equal to his Religion ; for he conferred on the City of London, *Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell* : He was a Prodigy for his Years, and the Wonder of the Age ; so, that if he had lived, he would have been in *England*, what *Titus* was in *Rome*, the Delight of Mankind.

IN April 1551, the *Sweating Sickness*, began at *Shrewsbury* ; it spread towards the North, and continued 'till *October*. Historians say, this Distemper was peculiar to the *Eng'ish* Nation ; for Foreigners were not seized with it in *England*, and *Englishmen* only were afflicted with it in other Countries. It raged with great Violence, and carried off great Numbers of People : but it fell chiefly upon young Men of a strong Constitution. Whoever was seized with it, died, or recovered, within nine or ten Hours at most : If the Person took Cold, he died within three Hours ; and he died raving, if he slept within six Hours. The same Year, the King appointed a Council, consisting of a President, and thirty other Persons, for the Government of *Wales*, whose Residence was at *Ludlow* in the County of *Salop* ; where the Council continued 'till the Revolution.

The royal EDWARD, in the Bloom of Youth,
Suck'd the sweet Flow'rs of *Virtue, Faith, and Truth*.
Short was his Reign, which full of Glory shone :
Religion, now, her mildest Robe put on :
Great *Somerset* his royal Nephew guides
To *Virtue's* Deeds, and o'er his Youth presides :
Illustrious *Cranmer*, the *Protector's* Friend,
Still strives the *Reformation* to defend ;
And, like some skilful Farmer, tills the Soil,
'Till the rich Harvest crowns his gen'rous Toil :
But *Ket*, with other Rebels, rise in Arms,
'Till *Warwick* bravely quells their loud Alarms.

Scot.

Scotland braves *England* forth : but ah ! how vain ?
 For *Musselborough's* Field reeks with her slain :

England, what Happiness had now been thine,
 If two great Brothers of the *Seymour* Line
 Had not themselves oppos'd ? * *Ambition* bled ;
 And virtuous † *Seymour* lost his honour'd Head :
 Friend to the Kingdom, Uncle to his King,
 He falls ; and Angels his sweet Requiem sing :
 While proud *Northumberland* drops *England's* Lance,
 And yields her Title to the Realm of *France*.

EDWARD, lov'd Prince ! had Heav'n prolong'd
 thy Date,

Thy Virtue had preserv'd and blest the State.
 In martial Pomp let other Monarchs shine ;
 The gentler Sway o'er smiling *Peace* was thine :
 Meek-ey'd *Religion* full of Sweetness came,
 And in thy Soul infus'd her brightest Beam :
Hope, *Faith*, and *Charity*, upheld thy Throne,
 Where Floods of Tears they wept when thou wert
 gone.

Adieu, sweet *EDWARD* ! Words can never tell
 Thy royal Worth : our Tears must bid farewell.

XXII. MARY I. *the forty-second Monarch of England; the twenty-second from the Conquest; and the fourth of the Line of Tudor.*

WE are now to enter upon a Reign polluted with A. D. 1553.
 the Blood of Martyrs, unfortunate by frequent
 Insurrections, and inglorious by the Loss of *Calais*.
 Oh, MARY ! thy Reign passed in a Hurry of Love,
 Marriage, Religion, and Persecution, with some lunatic Intervals of Mercy. Unhappy JANE ! thy Virtues deserved a Crown : They could not get it thee upon Earth, but they have gained thee one in Heaven.

It

* *THOMAS Lord SEYMOUR. † The Duke of SOMERSET,*

A. D. 1553. IT has been observed, that, during the whole Course of the Dominion of the Saxon Kings, or at least since the Heptarchy, there is not a single Instance of the Descendants of the Daughters being called to the Succession of the Crown. But, from the Norman Conquest to the Year 1405, there are two Precedents in the English History in favour of the Women. The first is that of King *Stephen*, Son of a Daughter of *William the Conqueror*; to which may be added, at the same Time, that of *Matilda*, Daughter of *Henry the first*, who disputed the Crown with *Stephen*. The second is, that of *Henry the second*, Son of *Matilda*, who was acknowledged for King, without Opposition. These two Precedents seemed to establish the Right of the Females, beyond all Dispute; and yet they were not unquestionable. It might be alledged, that *Stephen* ascended the Throne purely by the Cabals of some of the Nobility; and that *Henry the second* received his Crown only by Virtue of a Treaty, extorted by Force of Arms from his Predecessor. It might also be objected, that, as there was no express Law, two Examples, since the Beginning of the Monarchy, could not have the Force of a Law, chiefly on Account of the Circumstances with which they were attended: So that the Right of the Daughters and their Issue, might at least be liable to Dispute.

WHEN *Henry the fourth* ascended the Throne, in 1399, he pretended to be the next Heir of *Richard the second*; whereby he shewed, that he made no Account of the Right of the Earl of *March*, descended only from a Daughter. However, the People were generally of Opinion, that the Daughters had a Right to the Succession; since, without its being necessary to alledge Example or Precedents in their Favour, it was sufficient there was no Law to exclude them like the Salique Law in *France*. Upon this Foundation, a Rebellion was raised against *Henry the fourth*, who afterwards wanted to decide the Point by an Act of Parliament, which, in excluding the Daughters and their Issue, seemed to insinuate that he ascended the Throne, puruant

suant to the Custom and Laws of the Realm. Accord-^{A. D.}ingly, in 1405, an Act was passed, limiting the Suc-^{1553.}cession of the Crown to the Male-issue of the King, exclusive of the Female. But the Parliament, the very next Year, made such strong Remonstrances to the King, that he consented to the Repeal. Besides, this Parliament, not satisfied with leaving the Right of the Daughters in its former doubtful State, passed a new Act, whereby the Females, and their Posterity, were established in their natural Rights.

HENRY the Eighth in 1544, obliged his Parliament to alter the Succession to the Crown, in Prejudice of his Daughters; who were also precluded by the Will of *Edward* the Sixth; but that Will was set aside in Favour of *Mary*, who ascended the Throne, and brought the Lady *Jane* to the Scaffold.

THE Will of *Henry* the Eighth had so embroiled the Affair of the Succession, that it appeared full of Contradiction and Obscurity: So that it was impossible to resolve, by the ancient Laws and Customs of the Realm, the Queries arising from so many inconsistent Acts; because the Makers of these new Laws had not Justice and Equity in View, but only the gratifying of a Prince to whom it was dangerous to refuse any Thing. *Henry* the Eighth had foreseen the Difficulties and Perplexities his two Divorces might one Day occasion, and even seemed desirous to prevent them: But *Edward* the Sixth completed this Confusion in the Affair of the Succession, by conveying the Crown to Lady *Jane* *Grey*, contrary to the Rights of *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, who, notwithstanding they had been declared illegitimate by Parliament, were still looked on by the People as legitimate.

No Bastards since *William* the Conqueror, had ever been on the Throne of *England*; and *Mary* was willing to claim from her natural Right, as well as by the Will of her Father. If *Mary* was incapable of succeeding, as her Act of Illegitimacy was never repealed, the Crown consequently devolved upon the Princess *Elizabeth*, who, by the Act of 1540, was restored to her Rights. The Queen

A. D. of Scotland, who was Granddaughter to the eldest Sister 1553. of Henry the Eighth, could plead the Illegitimation of Mary and Elizabeth: Nor was it a sufficient Objection that she was born out of the Land, because the Princes of the Blood in *England* are never deemed Foreigners, though born out of the Kingdom, while the Lady *Jane Grey* claimed by the Assignment of *Edward* the Sixth, approved by all the Counsellors and Judges of the Realm, who had undertaken in her Favour what exceeded the Bounds of their Power. Thus four Princesses could pretend to the Crown; and each could find Arguments to combat the Claims of her Adversaries; whereby it may be easily preceived what a Door was opened to Divisions and civil Wars by *Henry* the Eighth and his Successor. To what Calamities would the Kingdom have been exposed, if each of the four Princesses had maintained her Right? But the Affair took another turn; because neither *Elizabeth* nor the Queen of Scotland attempted to possess the Crown, for which *Mary* and *Jane* were the only Competitors.

THE Duke of *Northumberland* endeavoured to conceal the Death of *Edward* the Sixth, because he expected *Mary* would come and throw herself into his Hands: But she received Notice from the Earl of *Arundel* of what had happened, and of the Design upon her Person. *Mary* was then at *Hunsdon* in *Hertfordshire*, and went to *Kenning-Hall* in *Norfolk*; from whence she wrote a Letter to the Council, and required them to proclaim her Queen: After which, she repaired to the Castle of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, where she took the Title of Queen, got herself proclaimed at *Norwich*, and sent a circular Letter to all the Nobility, requiring them to come and Aid her in maintaining her Right: But the Council reminded her of her Illegitimacy, and desired her to acknowledge Queen *Jane* for her Sovereign.

THE Duke of *Northumberland* was absolute in the Council, where every one dreaded to make him an Enemy, which occasioned twenty-one Councillors to sign the Answer to *Mary*, and among them *Cranmer* Archbishop

bishop of *Canterbury*, who knew the Disposition of that ^{A. D.} Princess, and was willing to support Lady *Jane*, in 1553. Hopes of supporting the Reformation. The Death of the King was no longer a Secret: Therefore, the Dukes of *Northumberland* and *Suffolk* were sent to give Lady *Jane* Notice of her being to ascend the Throne, by Virtue of the Assignment from King *Edward*. Lady *Jane* was then at *Durham-House*, which was the usual Place of her Residence: She was now in her Sixteenth Year; but, at that Age, wherein the Judgment is scarcely formed, she had acquired a very singular Degree of Perfection: For all the Historians agree, that the Solidity of her Mind, joined to a continual Application to Study, rendered her the Wonder and Delight of her Age. She perfectly understood the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *French* Languages, which she made Use of as Helps to attain to the highest Knowledge in the Sciences; wherein she was very like her Cousin, King *Edward*, who had the tenderest Friendship for her; as, on her Part, she had the greatest Esteem for him. It is worthy Observation, that when *Roger Ascham*, Tutor to the Princess *Elizabeth*, came to wait upon the Lady *Jane* at her Father's House in *Leicestershire*, he found her reading the Works of *Plato* in *Greek*, when all the Rest of the Family were Hunting in the Park. He asked her, "How she could be absent from such pleasant Diversion?" She answered, "The Pastimes in the Park were but a Shadow to the Delight she had in reading *Plato's Phædon*," which then lay before her.

As Lady *Jane* was ignorant of the Settlement which her Cousin *Edward* had made of the Crown, she was extremely surprized when she was informed of it by her Father and Father-in Law. Instead of receiving it with Joy, as they expected, she told them, "She would not enrich herself by the Spoils of others: That the Crown belonged to the Princess *Mary*, and afterwards to the Princess *Elizabeth*; and, being acquainted with the Will of King *Henry*, she was unwilling to aspire to the Throne before her Turn." The Will of King

A. D. King *Edward*, the Authority of the Council, and the 1553. Approbation of the Judges, were urged against the Reasons she had advanced; and that this Unanimity was a clear Evidence her Acceptation of the Crown would not at all be repugnant to the Laws of the Land. She was moved by these Arguments; and the Importunities of *Guilford Dudley* her Husband, prevailed with her at length to receive the offered Ensigns of Royalty.

LADY *Jane* was proclaimed at *London*, with the usual Formalities: But there were none of the Acclamations customary on such Occasions; because the People hated *Northumberland*, who increased their Aversion, by punishing a Vintner's Boy with too much Severity in the Pillory, for expressing his Scorn at the Proclamation. The Duke knew that *Mary* would pretend to the Crown; therefore, he took Care not to omit the Custom long since introduced, that the new Sovereigns should withdraw to the *Tower*, with the Council, in the Beginning of their Reign.

SOME of the Council were truly Protestants: But others were ready to resume the *Romish* Religion, if it suited best with their temporal Interest. The Earl of *Arundel*, and some others, resented the Usage they had received from *Northumberland*: The rest of the Nobility, who had assisted him to ruin the Duke of *Somerset*, hated him more than the Protector: And the People detested him for taking away the Life of their Idol the Duke of *Somerset*. *Jane* openly professed the Protestant Religion, and shewed she was entirely convinced of the Truth of its Doctrines. *Mary* was known to be a zealous Papist, and had much the greater Party in her Favour; because the Lukewarm among the Reformists were unwilling to declare for *Jane*, and others imagined they should enjoy a Liberty of Conscience under *Mary*.

THE Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* declared for *Mary*, and furnished her with Troops, on her promising to leave Religion in the same State she found it: Upon which Assurances, particularly to the *Suffolk* Men, they resolved

resolved to hazard their Lives and Estates in her Quar-^{A. D.}
rel. In the mean Time, the Duke of *Northumberland*^{1553.}
marched out of *London*, at the Head of 2000 Horse,
and 6000 Foot, which were to be joined by some other
Forces at *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeshire*: But he was
deserted on the Road by some of his Officers, and
others joined Queen *Mary*; particularly Sir *Edward*
Hastings with 4000 Men; while the six Ships of War,
sent to cruize on the Coast of *Suffolk*, to prevent the
Escape of *Mary*, followed the Example of *Hastings*.

THE Earl of *Arundel*, the Marquis of *Winchester*,
and the Earl of *Pembroke*, gained over some other
Lords of the Council, who artfully got themselves out
of the Power of the Duke of *Suffolk* in the *Tower*, and
prevailed upon the Magistracy of *London* to proclaim
Mary, who readily complied from their Enmity to *Northumberland*. The Council then required the Duke of
Suffolk to deliver up the *Tower*; as also that Lady *Jane*
should lay down the Title of Queen, and give over her
Pretenſions. The Father was obliged to obey; and the
Daughter found herſelf ſtript of her Dignity, held but
nine Days, with more Joy than ſhe had ſeen herſelf in-
vested with Royalty.

THE Council likewife diſpatched Orders to the Duke
of *Northumberland* to diſband his Army, and acknowledge
Queen *Mary*: But, as he found it imposſible to
keep his Army together, he prevented the Orders by
obeying beforehand. His firſt Thoughts were to fly out
of the Kingdom: Though he afterwards found it more
expedient to throw himſelf upon the Favour of *Mary*:
For which Purpose, he went to the Market-Place in
Cambridge, and proclaimed her Queen, flinging up his
own Hat for Joy, and crying *God ſave Queen Mary!*
But this was of no Advantage to him; for he was the
next Day arrested by the Earl of *Arundel*, and ſent
Prisoner to the *Tower*, together with his three Sons, Sir
Andrew Dudley his Brother, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and
three others of his Adherents.

WHEN *Northumberland* was in the *Tower*, *Mary* met
with no more Oppoſition; for those who adhered to
Jane

A. D. *Jane* strove to atone for their Fault by a ready Submission: But *Mary* was determined to sacrifice to her Safety, or Vengeance, some of those whom she looked upon as her principal Enemies. Of this Number were *Lady Jane Grey*; and *Lord Guilford Dudley* her Husband, the *Marquis of Northampton*, *Ridley Bishop of London*, and some others; who were all sent to, or detained in, the *Tower*, by the express Order of *Mary*: However, she released the *Duke of Suffolk*, having pitched upon him as an Instance of her Clemency, because she thought him incapable of creating her any Disturbance.

ON the 3d of *August*, Queen *Mary* came to *London* with her Sister *Elizabeth*, who had met her on the Way with 2000 Horse she had raised for her Service. When she entered the *Tower*, she released the *Duke of Norfolk*, *Gardiner*, *Bonner*, the *Duchess of Somerset*, and the *Lord Courtney*. Thus *Mary* was peaceably settled in the Throne, without any Effusion of Blood; which good Success was owing to the universal Hatred of the *Duke of Northumberland*.

THE first Care of the new Queen, was to establish her own Religion, and oblige the Kingdom to return immediately to what she called *The Union of the Catholic Church*. But, by the Persuasion of *Gardiner*, the Emperor desired her to moderate her Zeal, and endeavour gradually to pull down the *Reformation*. *Gardiner* was appointed Chancellor; and the Queen declared in Council, that she would use no Force upon Conscience in Affairs of Religion. This was short of her Promises to the *Suffolk Men*; and the Protestants were soon more alarmed by a Proclamation, which plainly discovered her Intention to change Religion and the Laws by the Parliament.

ON the 18th of *August* came on the Trial of the *Duke of Northumberland*, the *Marquis of Northampton*, the *Earl of Warwick*, *Sir John Gates*, *Sir Henry Gates*, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*: They were all convicted of High-Treason; but only the *Duke of Northumberland*, *Sir John Gates*, and *Sir Thomas Palmer* were executed. The *Duke* very pusilanimously petitioned for his Life, and professed himself a *Roman Catholic* in Hopes of obtaining it: Perhaps, he was flattered

flattered with the Hopes of Pardon, if he made such ^{A. D.} Recantation : But the Destroyer of the Duke of ~~So-~~^{1553.} ~~merſet~~, who died so much beloved, now suffered the same Fate, without exciting the least Compassion.

THE Proclamation particularly alarmed the *Suffolk* Men, who sent Deputies to the Queen, to remind her of her Promises : But she treated them with great Haughtiness and Contempt ; telling them, that Subjects were not to controul the Actions of their Sovereign. Five Protestant Bishops were deprived, and as many of the Popish Religion substituted in their Room. *Gardiner* was empowered to licence Preachers ; and the utmost Toleration was given to the *Roman Catholics*.

ARCHBISHOP *Cranmer* had saved the Life of *Mary*, merely by his Solicitation, when her Father *Henry the Eighth* intended to put her to Death : Yet she now suffered *Bonner* to launch out into Invectives and Railleries against Mr. *Canterbury*, as he was pleased to call him ; and publish every where, that he was so resigned to the Queen, that he had promised her a solemn Abjuration of his Errors : But *Cranmer* refuted this Calumny in a Writing ; for which he was called before the Star-Chamber ; and, contrary to Expectation, was dismissed without Punishment. However, he was called the Chief of the Heretics, and marked out for Destruction ; especially as the Queen had conceived a mortal Aversion to the Archbishop, on Account of the Sentence of Divorce pronounced by him against the Queen her Mother. Accordingly, three Days after, *Cranmer* was cited before the Council, and sent to the *Tower*, on an Accusation of Treason, and of publishing seditious Libels ; old *Latimer*, who had been Bishop of *Worceſter*, in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*, having been sent thither the Day before ; and they were both soon followed by the Archbishop of *York*. The reformed Foreigners were permitted to leave the Kingdom ; which was the only Act of Mildness and Equity shewn in this Reign, with Reference to Religion : But the *English* Protestants discovered a violent Storm impending over their Heads.

A. D. THE Ceremony of the Coronation was performed, 1553. on the 1st of *October*, by the Bishop of *Winchester*, who forgot not one Formality practised before the Reformation: The Earl of *Arundel* was made Lord Steward; and some others, who had declared for the Queen, had Employments and Dignities conferred upon them: But the Earl of *Suffex*, who had been her General, obtained an Honour unusual in *England*; namely, to be covered in the Presence of the Queen, as it is practised in *Spain*: Though King *John* granted the same Honour to *Courcey* Earl of *Ulster*, from whom the present Lord *Courcey*, Baron of *Kingdale* is descended, and who asserted this ancient Right of his Family in the Reigns of King *George* the First, and his present Majesty.

IT was resolved to restore the ancient Religion, and to abrogate all the Laws made in Favour of the Reformation. This could not be done by the Court, without the Concurrence of the Parliament: Therefore, besides the ordinary Ways made Use of by Kings to have Parliaments at their Devotion, all Sorts of Artifices, Frauds, and even Violences, were now put in Practice, to secure a House of Commons devoted to the Court: While four Bishops were in actual Imprisonment, six others had been changed, and the temporal Peers became zealous Papists. It is easy to foresee what might be expected from such a prostituted Parliament; and the Divorce of the Queen's Mother was repealed in fewer Days than *Henry* had spent Years in prosecuting it: The Mass was restored, and several Laws enacted for re-establishing Popery.

THE Princess *Elizabeth*, being thus again declared illegitimate by an Act which restored *Mary*, found a great Change in the Behaviour of the Queen, who no longer shewed her any Affection. The Lady *Jane Grey*, Lord *Guilford Dudley*, her Husband, his two Brothers Sir *Ambrose* and *Henry Dudley*, and Archbishop *Cranmer*, were brought to their Trial before the Parliament, on the 3d of *November*; when they all confessed their Indictments, and received Sentence of Death as

Traitors,

Traitors, for endeavouring to exclude *Mary* from the A. D. Throne ; which Sentence was afterwards executed on 1553. Lady *Jane* and her Husband : But his Brothers, in 1558, were restored to their Honours ; and Archbishop *Cranmer*, at present, was only declared incapable of possessing any Benefice ; though the Queen devoted him to Death as a Heretic, as soon as any Law should be made upon that Subject ; as if she only acted out of pure Zeal for Religion, and from no Motives of private Revenge.

THE Court of *Rome* conceived Hopes of re-uniting *England* to the holy See, and sent *Commendone*, afterwards Cardinal, to found the Inclinations of the Queen ; who admitted him to a private Audience, told him she designed the Restoration of the papal Authority, and desired him to intercede with the Pope to send Cardinal *Pole* as Legate.

AT the same Time, the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth was projecting a Marriage for his Son *Philip*, with Queen *Mary* ; in which he was assisted by *Gardiner*, who hated *Pole*, and feared the Queen intended to marry that Prelate. The Emperor proposed to the Queen, her Marriage with his Son, and supported his Proposal with several inducing Reasons ; especially by setting forth, the Necessity of a foreign Power in restoring Religion in *England* ; and that an Alliance with the Emperor and *Spain* was most advantageous, as the young Queen of *Scotland* was to marry the Dauphin of *France*, whose Interest it would be to raise and foment Disturbances in *England*.

MARY was much pleased with this Proposal : But the House of Commons were so greatly alarmed, that they sent their Speaker, with twenty of their Members, to pray the Queen not to marry a Foreigner. Her Majesty dissolved the Parliament ; and was determined to carry on the Match ; for the facilitating of which, the Emperor sent 1,200,000 Crowns, or 400,000 £. Sterling to *Gardiner*, to bribe those Persons who were wanted to curb the People, or could most easily induce them to rebel.

A. D. In the Beginning of this Year, a magnificent Ambaſſy
1554. arrived at *London* from the Emperor, with Count *Egmont* at the Head of it, to settle the Articles of the Marriage; which the Queen entrusted to *Gardiner*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and three other Commissioners, who signed the Treaty on the 12th of *January*; whereby it was agreed, that *Philip* was to enjoy the Title of King of *England*, while the Marriage subsisted; and that the Queen should likewise bear the Titles belonging to her Husband; that her Dowry should be fifty thousand Pounds of *Flemiſh* Money; and that she should have the sole Disposal of the Revenues of the Kingdom, the Nomination to all Employments, Officers, and Benefices, which should be conferred upon the natural Subjects of her Majesty, and no others. By a Clause annexed to the Treaty, *Philip* was to swear, before the Consummation of the Marriage, that he would not bring any Foreigner into *England*, to give Uneasiness to the *English*; that he would make no Alteration in the Laws, Rights, Statutes, and Customs of *England*; that he would never take the Queen out of her own Dominions, unless at her own particular Request; that if the Queen should die first, without Children, he would pretend to no Right upon *England*, or its Dependencies, but leave the Succession to the rightful Heir; and that he would not give any Occasion of Rupture between *England* and *France*.

IT is difficult to discover what Advantages *England* could receive from this Marriage: The Court had in View the Restoration of Papacy: But the Kingdom ran a great Risk of falling under the Dominion of *Philip*, who, probably, meant not to be bound by Chains of Parchment; especially as he had engaged to repay the Emperor the 1,200,000 Crowns remitted to *Gardiner*.

AFTER this Treaty of Marriage was made public, great Complaints and Murmurs were made against it; particularly by the Protestants, who feared that a *Spaniſh* Inquisition would be erected in *England*; and, independently of Religion, the greatest Part of the Nation conceived that *Philip* would introduce the *Spaniſh* Tyranny,

of

of which the *Indies*, the *Low Countries*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, A. D. and *Milan*, afforded recent Instances. These Murmurs ^{1554.} grew into a Conspiracy against the Queen, and a general Insurrection was formed between the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Wyat*, and Sir *Peter Carew*; the first of which was to act in *Warwickshire*, the second in *Kent*, and the 3rd in *Cornwall*. They intended to wait the Arrival of *Philip*, for a more plausible Colour to their Insurrection: But *Carew* managed so ill, that his Plot was discovered, and he fled into *France*; which made *Wyat* hasten the Execution of his Enterprize.

SIR *Thomas Wyat*, had been often concerned in Embassies, and particularly to *Spain*; where he had made such Observations on the Cruelty and Subtilty of the *Spaniards*, that he could not look, without a just Concern, on the Miseries his Country was like to fall under. He therefore assembled a few Followers at *Maidstone*, and afterwards marched to *Rochester*; giving out that he took Arms to prevent *England* from being invaded. The Queen offered *Wyat* a Pardon, which he refused; and the Court was so unprepared, by having wholly dismissed the Royal Forces, that the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent to oppose the Rebels with a few Troops, and 600 of the City Militia, who deserted to *Wyat*, and augmented his Troops to 4000 Men, with which he marched towards *London*, expecting to enter the City without Difficulty. He demanded the *Tower*, and the Queen's Person, to be put into his Hands; as also the Council to be changed as he should think proper: But the Queen trusted herself to the Citizens, who so strongly barricaded and guarded *London Bridge*, that he was obliged to march from *Southwark*, along the *Thames*, to *Kingston*, ten Miles from *London*, where he repaired, and crossed the Bridge at the head of 6000 Men; reaching *Hyde Park* about nine in the Morning, on the 7th of *February*. *Wyat* was so much opinionated the Citizens would favour his Undertaking, that he left his Cannon under a Guard at *Hyde Park*, entered *Westminster*, and pursued his March through the *Strand* to *Ludgate*: But, as he

A. D. advanced, Care was taken to cut off his Retreat by 1554. Barricadoes, and Men placed at all the Avenues. When he found the City Gate shut against him, he lost all Courage, and surrendered himself a Prisoner: After which, his Men dispersed, without striking a Blow, and were taken at Pleasure to fill the Prisons.

IN the mean Time, the Duke of *Suffolk* made but an inconsiderable Progress in *Warwickshire*, where he had only secured about fifty Horsemen, when his Design was discovered, and the Earl of *Huntington* had Orders to arrest him: Upon which, the Duke concealed himself in the House of one *Underwood*, whom he had made his Ranger at *Astley*, near *Coventry*: But this treacherous Domestic basely betrayed and delivered him to *Huntington*, in the same Manner as *Bannister* had betrayed his Master the Duke of *Buckingham*, to *Richard the third*, in *Shropshire*, 71 Years before.

THUS the Conspiracy was unsuccessfully terminated; though, if it had been properly conducted, it might have been attended with very important Consequences: But it proved fatal to all the Protestants in general, and particularly to Lady *Jane Grey*; whom the Queen determined to sacrifice to her own Safety, as she suspected the Design of her Father was to replace her upon the Throne.

SUPPRESSED Rebellion is the happiest Circumstance that can happen to an infirm Government. *Gardiner*, both from the Pulpit, and in the Cabinet, counselled *Mary* to strike Terror into the disaffected, by severe Examples of Justice; and it was resolved to begin with the unfortunate Lady *Jane Grey*, and her Husband, who were still Prisoners in the *Tower*. Lady *Jane* was well assured, the Jealousy of the Government would not suffer her to live; and that if the Queen could pardon her Treason, she would persecute her for her Religion; therefore she had employed the whole Time of her Confinement in a Preparation for Death. *Feckenham*, Abbot of *Westminster*, was sent to deliver the fatal Message to the unhappy Pair. He found the Lady *Jane* with so divine a Composure in her Looks, and

and so philosophical a Resignation in her Manner, that A. D. 1554.
he was astonished. He had Orders, if possible, to win her over to Popery; and obtained three Days Respite of her Execution, either to try what Effect that Indulgence might have upon her, or preposterously imagining she desired some Time to be determined: But, when he visited her again, and renewed his Attack upon her Faith, she defended it with so much Learning and Eloquence, that he found it impossible to succeed. However, the Report which he made at Court of her angelic Deportment, the attractive Sweetness of her Person that might spread a Contagion of Pity among the People, and the Declaration which it was expected she would make, of her innocent Intentions, made the Government apprehensive of the Consequences if she was publickly put to Death; and accordingly Orders were given that she should suffer on a Scaffold within the Tower. On the Morning of her Execution, which was the 12th of February, she was offered the Indulgence of a Meeting with her Husband: But she prudently refused so cruel a Favour, for fear of melting in him that Firmness which is so necessary at the Hour of Death; while, as to herself, she seemed to put off the Affections, before she put off the Form of Mortality. She had the Unhappiness to behold from her Apartment, the Lord Guilford Dudley her Husband, carried to Execution, where he behaved in a very noble and affecting Manner; and, from the same Window, she had the dismal Spectacle of his Head and Body returning in a Cart. Her own Behaviour, on the Scaffold, was full of Magnanimity and Resignation: She declared that she never aspired to the Throne, and that her Offence was only in consenting to others: She kneeled, and said the fifty-first Psalm in English: She kindly thanked Feckenham for his Humanity; favoured Mr. Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, who begged she would leave him a Memorial of her, with some Greek and Latin Sentences, which she wrote in a Table-book; and then decently submitted to the Axe, as conscious that it was her Passport to a happy Immortality: Shewing, to the last

D. Moment, a great Constancy and Piety, with an im-
1554. moveable Adherence to the Reformation. Thus pe-
 rished the greatest Beauty, the most accomplished Lady,
 and the most virtuous Woman of her Age and Nation,
 before she had attained her Eighteenth Year; lament-
 ed by all *Europe*, adored by the Protestants of *England*,
 and regretted even by her Popish Enemies, who
 thought her too great an Ornament for any Religion
 but their own.

THE Duke of *Suffolk* was tried the 17th of the
 same Month, and executed the 21st, with great Grief
 for having been the Cause of his Daughter's Death.
 His Execution was followed by that of his Brother,
Thomas Lord Grey, who had the Reputation of being a
 brave honest Man. About sixty inferior People were
 hanged; and six hundred received their Pardon from
 the Queen, with Halters about their Necks.

WHEN *Wyat* was brought to his Trial, he offer-
 ed to make great Discoveries, if his Life might be
 spared; and went so far as to accuse the Princess
Elizabeth, *Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire*, and *Sir*
Nicholas Throckmorton, of being concerned in the Con-
 spiracy: Upon which, the Princess and the Earl were
 sent to the *Tower*; but *Throckmorton* was honestly ac-
 quitted by his Jury, who were severely fined by the
 Court for their Honesty. However, *Wyat* obtained
 only a Respite of two Months, and then found he
 was to die: Upon which, he fully cleared the
 Princess *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Devonshire*, both in
 his second Examination, and at the Place of Execution;
 therefore, no Process could be formed against them,
 as they had been acquitted by their Accuser; though
Gardiner so passionately desired the Death of the Prin-
 cess, that it is reported he procured a Warrant signed by
 some Privy Councillors, for her Execution; but that
Bridges, then Lord *Chandois*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*,
 by an Application to the Queen, to know what was her
 Pleasure, and her denying any Knowledge of the War-
 rant, saved the Life of the Princess. The Earl of *Devon-
 shire* was removed to *Fotheringay Castle*; and the Prin-
 cess

cess was removed to *Woodstock*, under the Custody of *A. D.* Sir *Henry Beningfield*, where she continued two Years, 1554: and was treated with such little Marks of Humanity or Distinction, that it gave her Room to suspect a Design against her Life.

THE Disturbances, occasioned by *Wyat's Conspiracy*, being appeased, the Queen resumed her first Design of an utter Destruction of the Reformation. She detested her own Supremacy, and yet scrupled not to use it against the Protestants; for she gave the Chancellor a particular Order, to purge the Churches of all married Bishops and Priests; in Consequence of which, four Bishops were deprived for Marriage, as also three for preaching erroneous Doctrines; and, of 16,000 of the inferior Clergy then in *England*, Dr. *Burnet*, says, that 12,000 were turned out for having Wives. The Mass was every where restored, with the Liturgy used in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*; and the Parliament became so venal, that, with Regard to a great Number of Members, their Pensions were known, who approved the Treaty of Marriage between the Queen and *Philip*, the latter of whom left *Spain* on the 16th of *July*, and arrived on the 19th at *Southampton*, with a Fleet of 160 Sail.

WHEN *Philip* landed, he drew his Sword, and carried it naked for some Time; which mysterious Action was variously interpreted. Some said, it signified he would draw his Sword in Defence of the Nation: Others believed, that he intimated to the *English*, by this Action, that he intended to govern them by the Sword. The Example of *Henry the Seventh* furnished a just Cause of Fear; as that Prince at first had no Pretension to the Crown, but what flowed from his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*: though, when he afterwards found himself sufficiently strong, he resolved to reign in his own Right, as Heir to the House of *Lancaster*; and *Philip* might be suspected of doing the same Thing, as descended from the same House; especially, as the *Spaniards* had studiously published a Genealogy of *Philip*, which derived him from a Daughter of *John of Gaunt*,

A. D. Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Son of Edward the
1554. Third.

THE Queen met her intended Consort at *Winchester*, where *Gardiner* married them the 25th of *July*; and the same Day they were proclaimed King and Queen of *England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland*; Princes of *Spain* and *Sicily*; Archdukes of *Austria*; Dukes of *Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant*; Counts of *Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tirol*. The Emperor had lately made a Present to his Son *Philip*, of the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Jerusalem*; and many Chests of Bullion were brought by *Philip*, who was but twenty-nine Years of Age, and *Mary* was thirty-eight.

THE King and Queen made their public Entry into *London*, on the 12th of *August*; and *Philip*, being desirous to acquire the Affections of the *English*, interceded for the Princess *Elizabeth*, and freed her from the Danger she was in from the Queen and *Gardiner*: But there was as much of Policy, as of Generosity, in this Act of Clemency: For *Philip* was afraid, if *Elizabeth* died, the *Dauphin*, by marrying the Queen of *Scots*, might join the Crowns of *England* and *Ireland*, to those of *France* and *Scotland*; which must be prejudicial to the House of *Austria*: Besides, *Philip* had Hopes of marrying *Elizabeth*, if *Mary* died first. The King also obtained Pardon for the *Archbishop of York*, nine Knights, and the *Earl of Devonshire*; the latter of whom retired into *Italy*, and died the Year after at *Padua*, as some say of Poisou, whereby an End was put to that illustrious Family, of which he was the eleventh Earl.

THE grave Manner, and reserved Air of *Philip*, gave such great Disgust to the *English*, that the Court became entirely unfrequented; though the Parliament, corrupted by the Money from *Spain*, were entirely devoted to the Court, and passed an Act to repeal the Attainder of *Cardinal Pole*, in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*; immediately after which, *Pole* arrived in *England*, in Quality of Legate from *Rome*, and laid before the Parliament the Occasion of his Legation; which was, “ To bring back to the Fold of Christ the Sheep

Sheep that were gone astray." The Queen was so A. D. moved at what was delivered by the Cardinal, that she ^{1554.} fancied she felt a Child stir in her Womb: The News was published every where, Te Deum was sung, and Forms of Prayers were composed on this Account: But, the next Year, the Queen had the Mortification to discover her Mistake.

THE Parliament promised to repeal all Acts against the papal Authority; and the Legate granted the Kingdom a full Absolution, which was received by both Houses on their Knees. An Act was passed for restoring the papal Authority to the same State as before the twentieth Year of *Henry the Eighth*, but with some Restrictions; particularly, that the Alienations of the Church-lands should be authorized, and the Possessors subject to no Censures: Though the Legate made a Denunciation of the Judgments of God, on all those who possessed the Lands of the Church; because the Pope could not consent to such an Alienation, without violating the Canons; and, if he had openly insisted upon this Restitution, he might have miscarried in the desired Re-union of *England* with the Church of *Rome*.

ENGLAND was now quite reconciled to *Rome*; and a Protestant Government became so entirely Popish, that the Parliament revived the Statutes of *Richard the Second*, *Henry the Fourth*, and *Henry the Fifth* against Heretics. The Protestants were much more numerous than their Adversaries, and the Court took it into Consideration how to make them less. *Pole* was for gentle Methods; *Gardiner* for rigorous Proceedings; and the Queen, who was a flaming Bigot, embraced the Advice of the latter, to whose Care the Extirpation of Heresy was committed; while *Pole* was entrusted with the Reformation of the Clergy; and an Ambassy was sent to *Rome*, with the Tender of a Submission to the Pope, from the King, the Queen, and the three States of the Realm.

As *Gardiner* was for forcing the Protestants into the A. D. Pale of the *Romish* Church, he thought the Punishment ^{1555.} of some of the most obstinate, would be attended with

A. D. a blind Compliance in all the rest, to whatever was
1555. enjoined ; and was therefore resolved to begin with
Hooper and *Rogers*, who, as well as others, were de-
tained in Prison 'till Laws could be made to condemn
them. *Hooper* had been Bishop of *Gloucester*, and *Rogers*
was a Clergyman of great Repute among the Protes-
tants : They were condemned by *Gardiner*, and other
Commissioners, who delivered them over to the secular
Arm ; after which, *Hooper* was burnt at *Gloucester*, and
Rogers at *London*. These Executions were followed by
those of *Saunders* and *Taylor*, two other Clergymen,
of the most distinguished Zeal for their Religion ; but
Gardiner found that this Severity produced not the
Effect he expected, and transferred his Commission to
Bonner, who was as remarkable for his Fury, as
Gardiner for his Cruelty.

THESE few Executions caused an universal Consta-
nation ; and the Bishops themselves seemed ashamed ;
for, in a solemn Assembly, they declared, they had
no Hand in these Barbarities, which were attri-
buted to the Court. Nor could it escape Observation,
how differently the Protestants behaved from the *Ro-
man Catholicks* ; for, in the Reign of *Edward*, very
few had suffered Imprisonment for their Religion ;
but, in the Reign of *Mary*, no Punishment was thought
too cruel for those Protestants, who dared to persevere
in their Opinions. However, the Court threw the
Blame upon the Bishops ; though they were both so
equally inclined to Cruelty, that the Persecution was
continued with all the Fury of Superstition, and all
the Rage of Inhumanity ; for *Robert Ferrar*, Bishop of
St. David's, was burnt at *Carmarthen* ; and several other
Persons at different Places ; particularly *Ridley*, Bishop
of *London*, and the venerable old *Latimer*, formerly
Bishop of *Worcester*, who both suffered Martyrdom
together at *Oxford*, in *November*. The Prince's *Eli-
zabeth* was conducted from *Woodstock* to *Hampton Court*,
and from thence to *Hatfield*, where all her Actions
were narrowly watched, and she was obliged to dis-
semble her religious Sentiments : But her Answer to
the

the dangerous Question put by *Gardiner*, concerning A. D. the Words of *Christ*, *Hoc est Corpus meum*, this is 1555. my Body, has something in it full of Caution, Wit, and Solidity;

“ *Christ* was the Word that spake it;
“ He took the Bread and brake it:
“ And what the Word did make it;
“ That I believe, and take it.”

A Rumour was every where spread, that the Queen was delivered of a Prince: But this pretended Pregnancy ended in a false Conception; which made *Philip* weary of a Wife, who had neither Youth, Beauty, or likelihood of any Children; for he had only married in hopes of Children, and thereby of uniting *England* with *Spain*. He therefore left *England*, in *September*, and went to *Flanders*; as he had received Information, by the Emperor his Father, of his Intention to resign to him his *Spanish* Dominions. The Queen was extremely mortified at the Coldness of her Husband; and vented her Peevishness, for her disappointed Pregnancy, in repeated Severities upon the Protestants: But *Gardiner* died of a Dropsey, soon after he received the News of the Death of *Ridley* and *Latimer*, which he impatiently expected.

THE Fire was re-kindled for the burning of Protestants; and Archbishop *Cranmer*, whose Life *Gardiner* 1556. had politically prolonged, was now doomed for a Sacrifice. This excellent Prelate had been declared Heretic from *April* 1554; and in *September* 1555 he was tried before two Commissioners at *Oxford*, who accused him of having been twice married, publishing Heretical Books, forsaking the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and denying the real Presence of *Christ* in the Sacrament. He owned these Facts; and upon his Confession, was cited to appear before the Pope; which was a needless Citation, as he was detained a Prisoner by the Queen. *Bonner* and *Thirlby* were sent to *Oxford* to degrade the Metropolitan of all *England*; when *Bon-*

A. D. *ne*r executed his Commission not only with impious
1556. Railleries, but unmanly Insolence ; while *Thirlby* melted
into Tears. Death should have immediately followed
the Sentence and Degradation, but many Snares were
laid to overcome the Constancy of *Cranmer*, and pre-
vail on him to sign an Abjuration. He was lodged in
the Dean's House, and treated with high Civilities,
whereby the Friars and Clergy had Opportunities of
reviving in his Mind the Ideas of his former Greatness.
But the Conquest was not easy : The great Things this
Prelate had done for the Reformation, the high Expect-
ations the World had of his Sanctity, and the Shame
of public Apostacy, maintained a long Struggle with
the Hopes of Life and the Restitution of Honours :
So that his Seducers were obliged to have Recourse
to Severity, and confined him in a loathsome Prison.
This was more than the Infirmities of so old a Man
could support ; he was brought to waver, and then to
fall ; but only to rise with superior Lustre from all his
Affliction. He was prevailed on, through Menaces and
Promises, to sign six distinct Recantations ; as also to make
a verbal Recantation at St. *Mary*'s Church in *Oxford* ;
though the Queen had signed a Warrant for his Death
notwithstanding his Abjuration. *Cranmer* was placed on
a low Scaffold, as he imagined for a Spectacle of Shame,
rather than an Object of Cruelty. He had no Appre-
hension of his Fate, especially that he was to be imme-
diately carried from the Place of his Recantation to that
of his Execution : but, when he found he was to die,
he shewed that he was above asking to live. Instead of
making the verbal Recantation that was expected, he
professed the highest Detestation of his Apostacy ; vindi-
cated all he had done against the Church of *Rome* ; and
declared, that the Hand which had betrayed his Heart,
should be the first punished in the Flames. He was
then forcibly pulled from the Scaffold, and carried to
the same Place where *Ridley* and *Latimer* suffered, which
was the North Side of the City, in the Ditch oppofite
Baliol College ; where his Magnanimity and Piety sur-
prized the Spectators, and drew Tears from his Ene-
mies,

mies, who saw him first burn off his offending Hand, A. D. and chearfully expire among the Flames, with the ^{1556.} strongest Testimony of Repentance for the Fault he had committed. Thus died Archbishop *Cranmer*, in the 67th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Primacy : he was the Pillar of the Reformation, the Glory of Religion, an Ornament to Virtue, and an Honour to Learning : So that the Protestants bitterly lamented his Fall, over which the Papists triumphed ; and *Pole* succeeded him in his Archiepiscopal Dignity.

ALL the rest of this Year was a continual and violent Persecution of the Protestants ; the very Women were not spared, and the Fury of the Persecutors fell upon innocent Infants : While the Queen repaired old Monasteries, and erected new ones, which gave an Alarm to the Parliament : But while the Ecclesiastics continued their Rage, the Protestants preserved their Faith, which so enraged the Queen and her Ministers, that they seemed resolved to erect an Inquisition in *England*, like that in *Spain*, and twenty-one Commissioners were appointed to sit upon Trials of Heresy.

FRANCE and *Spain* continued a War, without the ^{A. D.} Intervention of *England* : But the Pope took part with ^{1557.} *France*, and *Mary* mediated a five Years Truce for *Spain*, which the Pope caused the French Monarch to break, and this induced the Queen to assist her Husband, especially as she imagined the French were forming Projects to surprize *Calais*.

THOMAS STAFFORD, second Son of the Lord *Stafford*, assembled some English Fugitives in *France*, landed them in *Scotland* towards the End of *April*, and marched directly to *Scarborough*, where he seized the Castle, and published a Manifesto against the Queen ; pretending she had forfeited all Right to the Crown, by introducing Spaniards into the Kingdom. He had the Boldness to assume the Title of Protector of *England* : But he was taken Prisoner in *Scarborough* by the Earl of *Northumberland*, and executed at *London*.

PHILIP arrived in *England* in *March*, and soon after his Queen sent a Herald to declare War against

108 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. France; in Consequence of which, 8000 *English*, com-
1557. manded by the Earl of *Pembroke*, joined the *Spanish* Army, commanded by the Duke of *Savoy*, in the *Netherlands*; and *Philip* returned to *Brussels* in *July*. The Duke of *Savoy* besieged *St. Quintin*, and the *Constable of France* endeavoured to relieve it; which, on the 10th of *August*, brought on an Engagement, called the Battle of *St. Laurence*, wherein the *French* were defeated, with the Loss of 2500 Men. This occasioned the *French* to recall the Duke of *Guise* out of *Italy*, where he was sent to invade *Naples*; and that obliged the Pope to make a Peace with *Spain*. On the 15th of *July*, *Anne of Cleves*, the fourth Wife of *Henry the Eighth*, died at *Chelsea*, and was buried at *Westminster*, on the 3d of *August*.

A. D. THE *French* Monarch solicited the *Queen Regent*
1559. of *Scotland* to break the Peace with *England*, and she made Preparations for a War; which greatly embarrassed the *Queen of England*, because she greatly wanted Money. The *English* Ministry were informed by *Philip*, that the *French* intended to take *Calais*; but his Information was neglected, and the sole Reputation of the Town was to be its Security. The Garrison consisted only of 500 Men, under the Command of *William, Lord Wentworth*, and the Inhabitants were about 4000; but the Duke of *Guise* besieged the Town on the 1st of *January*, with a numerous Army, and obliged the Governor to capitulate on the 7th, though it held out a Siege of eleven Months against the *English*. The Duke immediately afterwards invested *Guisnes*, and the Castle of *Hames*; the former of which made some Resistance, and the latter none at all. Thus in the middle of Winter, and in less than 15 Days, the *English* lost all the Remains of their ancient Conquests in *France*, and were ordered to depart, in the same Manner as *Edward the Third* had expelled the *French* 210 Years before.

THE Loss of *Calais* put *Queen Mary* into the utmost Conternation, and made great Noife in *England*: But the Greatness of the Loss has since been more sensibly

sensibly felt ; because the Possession of this Place always A. D. rendered *England* formidable to *France*, as the *English*^{1558.} could, in twenty-four Hours, land great Armies in that Kingdom ; and *France* from that Time, except when distract'd with Civil Wars, no more shew'd *England* that Regard she was before oblig'd to pay. The Queen was so affected with this unexpected News, that she a while forgot the Persecution of the Protestants, and abandoned herself to Despair ; saying, that the Loss of *Calais* was written in her Heart, and might be read there when her Body was opened.

KING Philip advised his Queen to retake *Calais*, or endeavour to seize *Brest* : She approved of the latter, and in July sent a Fleet of 130 Ships, with 7000 Soldiers, commanded by the Lord *Clinton*, to invade *Bretagne* ; but, after burning *Conquest*, he was oblig'd to retire with the Loss of 600 Men. This made the Queen sensible that she could reap no Advantage by a War, and made her consent to a Negociation then proposed for a Peace : But though a Congress was opened at *Cambray* in October, no Peace was concluded in her Life-time.

As the King of *Spain* had married *Mary of England*, the Dauphin of *France* was this Year married to *Mary* the young Queen of *Scotland*, with much the same Restrictions with regard to Government : So that *France* and *Scotland* were now to be set as a Ballance against *Spain* and *England*.

THE Loss of *Calais*, and the Disgust of her Husband, threw the Queen of *England* into such a bad State of Health, and so strong a Melancholy, that she could bear the Sight of few Persons. She had never been well from the Time of her pretended Pregnancy ; and, as she found herself declining, she was troubled with the same Reflections for the Preservation of Popery, as her Brother *Edward the Sixth* had been for the Security of the Protestant Religion. The Princess *Elizabeth* was known to be a Protestant in her Heart, and she was now in more Danger than ever ; for the Queen was a Bigot to the last Degree, and

110 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. and the Priests told her there was a Necessity of re-
1558. moving the Princess out of the Way ; for *Gardiner* frequently said, it was in vain to lop off the Branches, while the Tree was suffered to stand. But the Preservation of this excellent Princess was owing to the particular Protection of Heaven, by suffering the Politics of *Philip* to prevail over the bloody Zeal of his Queen, who probably would not have spared a Sister, whom she considered as a Bastard, when Religion was the Pretence for Murder. The King of *Sweden* sent Ambassadors to demand the Princess in Marriage ; who told the Queen, that a single Life was more preferable to her than a Marriage with the greatest Prince in the World, and she all her Life time continued in the same Opinion.

IN the mean Time the Persecution was renewed with greater Fury than ever against the Protestants ; and it appeared, that the Bishops desired the Destruction of those they called Heretics, more than their Conversion : Though Cardinal *Pole* was far from approving of such Severities, being willing to bring back the *English* to their ancient Belief by fair and lawful Means, without the Methods of Fire and Sword. Authors are not agreed concerning the Number of Persons who perished in the Flames during the Reign of Queen *Mary* : But it is generally acknowledged, that there were burnt five Bishops, twenty one Clergymen, eight Gentlemen, eighty-four Artificers, one hundred husband-men's Servants, and Labourers, twenty-six Wives, twenty Widows, nine Virgins, two Boys, and two Infants ; besides those who perished by Imprisonment.

THE People saw nothing but Cruelty in the Council, Poverty in the Exchequer, Pride in the Court, Dissent at Home, and Contempt Abroad ; when it pleased Heaven to remove Queen *Mary* out of the World. She had been long afflicted with a Dropsey, which was attended with a Pestilential Fever, and put an End to her Life, at her Manor of St. *James*'s, on the 17th of November, in the 43d Year of her Age, after a Reign of five Years, four Months, and eleven Days ;

her

her Death being followed the same Day by that of Cardinal *Pole*, and she was buried with great Pomp, on the 13th of *December*, in *Henry* the seventh's Chapel, on the North Side of that King's Monument.

HISTORIANS have given no Account of her Person, which was not deformed, but was far from being beautiful; and her Temper was gloomy. She discovered no great Capacity in the Government of her Dominions: But Dr. *Burnet* says, she had a generous Disposition of Mind; and the Priests have past great Encomiums on her Piety. However, *Mezeray*, who was a *Frenchman*, and a Popish Writer, observes, "That when she was once absolute Mistress, she cemented the Throne with the Blood of the Lady *Jane*, her Husband, her Father, and almost all her Kindred: That she afterwards spilt much more to restore the Catholic Religion; which brought the State into such Convulsions as had like to have proved mortal; and all for the Advantage of a short Duration." Her Bigotry was excessive; and Barbarity was the only Quality to recommend a Man to the Episcopal Dignity: So that the Practice of Piety became the Trade of Murder. The only Action worthy of Approbation, during her whole Reign, was her Rejection of the Project framed by the *Spanish* Ambassador, to make herself absolute, at the Expence of the Laws and Liberties of the Nation. Dr. *Heylin* says, that her Persecution was the most terrible that raged since the Time of *Dioclesian*.

THE *Great Harry*, a Ship of a Thousand Tons, was burnt at *Woolwich*, on the 27th of *August*, 1553, by the Negligence of the Mariners.

SEVERAL Dearth's happened in this Reign, particularly one in 1557, which was so great that Wheat was sold at 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the Quarter, Malt 2*l.* 4*s.* and Pease at 2*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; but the next Harvest proved so plentiful, that Wheat was sold at 5*s.* Malt at 6*s.* 8*d.* and Rye at 3*s.* 4*d.* a Quarter.

On!

Oh ! cruel *Mary* ! what a horrid Scene
 Of Blood and Murder, marks thy furious Reign ?
 While hapless * *Grey*, young *Guilford's* beauteous Bride,
 And *England's* Darling, by thy Vengeance dy'd ;
 Whose Merit might have grac'd the Royal Throne,
 Whose Virtues well deserv'd the noblest Crown.
Northumberland's Ambition lost his Life ;
 And noble *Guilford* perish'd with his Wife :
 Old *Suffolk* bleeds : but *Jane* thou wert divine,
 And everlasting Happiness is thine.

Now *England's* Queen does *Spain's* proud *Philip* wed :
 But nuptial Joys ne'er blest their nuptial Bed.
England and *Spain* their Arms united bring,
 To crush the *Gallic* Pow'r : But *Gallia's* King
Calais retakes ; and, on the *Gallic* Shore,
England can boast Possessions now no more.

The *Papal* Power again defiles the Land ;
 And bloody *Zeal* gives out her stern Command :
Bonner bids *Superstition* ravage round,
 For bloody *Gardiner* to spread the Wound.

Oh ! glorious Martyrs ! who so firmly stood,
 And seal'd *Religion* with your sacred Blood ;
Illustrious Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, hear ;
 Ye suffering Saints, *Ferrar* and *Latimer* ;
England to you her fair Religion owes :
 Each like the *Phœnix* from the Flame arose :
 And other Martyrs, by your *Zeal* inspir'd,
 With Glory suffer'd, and with Joy expir'd.
 Dreadful Barbarity ! but, from this Rage,
 Heav'n shields *Elizabeth*, to bless the Age.

* *Lady JANE GREY.*

XXIII. ELL.

XXIII. ELIZABETH, *the forty-third Monarch of England: the twenty-third from the Conquest; and the fifth of the Line of Tudor.*

DU Serres says, of the Reign of *Henry the fourth of France*, that “It is a Sign of a happy Reign, ^{1558.} when the Subjects rejoice to see their Prince”: And the same might be well applied to *Elizabeth*, who was the Contemporary of *Henry*. From a short Reign of Blood and Infamy, we are now arriving at a long Reign of Peace and Glory, by which the Happiness of *England* was thoroughly established.

U P O N the Death of *Mary*, three Princesses could pretend to the Crown; *Elizabeth*, Sister to the late Queen; *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, Grand-Daughter to *Margaret*, eldest Sister of *Henry the eighth*; and *Frances*, Dutches of *Suffolk*, Daughter of *Mary*, younger Sister of the same Prince: but the Queen of *Scotland* had married the Dauphin of *France*; and the Dutches of *Suffolk* only derived her Right from the Will of *Henry the eighth*, which was equally favourable to *Elizabeth*: Therefore, the Princess *Elizabeth* was readily acknowledged the lawful Heir to the Throne by the Parliament, and proclaimed Queen the same Day that her Sister died. The Protestants thanked God that he had at last delivered them from their Persecution, in placing this Princess on the Throne; while some of the Papists looked on her Advancement, as a mortal Wound to their Religion; but others were not sorry to see a Stop put to those Barbarities which dishonoured all Religion.

T H E Princess *Elizabeth* was now in the 25th Year of her Age; tolerably handsome; with a Great, Noble, and Majestic Air: But she was most remarkable for her large Share of Sense and Judgment; which she rendered more agreeable by a certain natural Affability that

A. D. that commanded the Esteem and Affection of all who
1558. approached her Person. She was at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, when she was informed of the Resolution of both Houses in her Favour; and came to *London* on the 19th of *November*, being met by all the Bishops at *Highgate*, with a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, attended by an infinite Croud of People, testifying their Joy by the loudest Acclamations. She took up her Residence in the Tower, and dispatched Ambassadors to the principal Courts of *Europe*, to give Notice of her ascending the Throne: But her Coronation was deferred 'till the 15th of *January* 1559, when it was performed, with the usual Ceremony, in *Westminster Abbey*, by Dr. *Oglethorp*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, who was persuaded to do the Office, notwithstanding the Archbishop of *York*, and the other Bishops refused to assist at the Solemnity; because *Elizabeth* had sufficiently declared herself against the Church of *Rome*.

A. D. *EDWARD Seymour*, eldest Son of the late Duke of
1559. *Somerset*, was created Earl of *Hertford*; and some other Protestants had Honours conferred upon them, to promote the Protestant Interest in the House of Peers. A new Council was formed, consisting of thirteen who had been Councillors to *Mary*, and eight new ones as much attached to the Protestant Religion as the old ones were to Popery. With some of these last the Queen secretly consulted about the Means to restore the Reformation in *England*; which was happily accomplished, without having Recourse to the Barbarities exercised in the Reign of *Mary*.

WHEN the King of *Spain* was informed of the Death of his Queen, he looked upon *England* as lost to him; either on Account that *Elizabeth* would marry some Protestant Prince, or that the *French* Monarch would assist the Queen of *Scotland*'s Claim upon *England*, and seize that Kingdom, to unite it, as well as *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to the *French* Monarchy. But, to free himself from these Fears, and preserve the Advantages of his Alliance with *England*, he sent Instructions to his Ambassador, the Count *de Feria*, to congratulate *Elizabeth*

on

on her Accession, and propose his Design of uniting A. D. himself with her in Marriage: *Elizabeth* had also strong 1559. Reasons to preserve the Friendship of *Philip*; especially as she was informed that the *French* Monarch was using all his Credit at the Court of *Rome* to have her declared illegitimate, with a View of procuring the Crown of *England* for his Daughter-in-law the Queen of *Scotland*: She was engaged in a War with *France* and *Scotland*, unsupported by any other Alliance than that of *Spain*; and she knew it was her Business to end these Wars with Honour, before she gave *Philip* any Cause of Complaint. The Queen, therefore, received the Offer with Marks of a particular Esteem for the King of *Spain*, but objected their Affinity as an Impediment to this Marriage. The Ambassador talked of a Dispensation from the Pope, and was civilly dismissed by the Queen; who had three great Reasons to prevent her from accepting the Proposal: First, her Persuasion that such Marriages were contrary to the Law of God; and the Example of her Father, in a parallel Case, reminded her of her Duty: Secondly, nothing was more contrary to her Intention of re-establishing the Protestant Religion: And thirdly, to make use of a Dispensation to marry a Brother-in-law, would have been an Acknowledgment of the Invalidity of her Father's Divorce with *Catherine of Arragon*, and of her own Illegitimacy.

THE Queen was determined to restore the Reformation; and the proper Methods to put it in Execution were examined before her Cabinet Council. The Parliament was then summoned to meet on the 23d of *January*; a Proclamation was published for allowing divine Service to be read in *English*; and the Parliament restored to the Crown the Tents, first Fruits, and Impropriations, which had been surrendered by *Mary*: They also passed an Act to recognize *Elizabeth* for lawful Queen, in virtue of an Act of the 25th of *Henry the eighth*: But it was thought strange that the Sentence of her Mother's Divorce, and the subsequent Act declaring *Elizabeth* illegitimate, were not annulled,

A. D. annulled, in the same Manner as *Mary* had done the 1559. **Act** which affected her.

SEVERAL Acts were made concerning Religion, whereby the Queen was restored to her Right of Supremacy in the Church of *England*; and the Acts made by *Edward* the Sixth were renewed and confirmed. Some Opposition was made by the Popish Bishops and Lords, who protested in vain; for the same Thing happened in this Parliament, as under *Henry*, *Edward*, and *Mary*, that is, the Court caused to be enacted almost whatever they pleased. The Reformation being thus established by public Authority, of 9400 beneficed Clergymen in the Kingdom, only 14 Bishops, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Heads of Colleges, 50 Canons, and about 80 parochial Priests chose to quit their Preferments, rather than their Religion: The vacant Places were filled up by Protestants, and *England* became entirely reformed in a short Time, after having seen the most eminent Reformers sent to the Flames.

THE House of Commons addressed the Queen to marry; who told them, that, by the Ceremony of her Inauguration, she was married to her People, and her Subjects were to her instead of Children: That they would not want a Successor when she died; and, for her Part she would be well contented, that the Marble should tell to Posterity, *Here lies a Queen that reigned so long, and lived and died a Virgin.*

PHILIP had now no Hopes of marrying *Elizabeth*, and concluded a separate Peace with *France*; which was followed by a Treaty between *France* and *England*, signed the 2d of *April*, whereby *France* was to keep *Calais* eight Years, and then restore it to *England*; and the *French* King was to give Security for the Payment of 500,000 Crowns of Gold to *Elizabeth*, in case the Restitution was either refused or delayed, by *Henry*, or his Successors, within the Time limited: But *Calais* was never restored, nor the 500,000 Crowns ever paid.

THE same Day a Treaty was signed between the Queen of *England* and the King and Queen of *Scotland*, whereby

whereby the Fortifications of *Aymouth*, and all others A. D. erected in *Scotland*, since the Treaty of 1549, were to ¹⁵⁵⁹ be erased ; and other Differences were adjusted : But the *French* Monarch was insincere, and his Successor soon after sent Troops into *Scotland*, to join the Catholics of *England* for dethroning *Elizabeth*.

QUEEN *Elizabeth* heard that the *French* Monarch A. D. had ordered *Francis* the Dauphin King, and *Mary* the ¹⁵⁶⁰ Queen Dauphiness, to assume the Title of King and Queen of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, and to quarter their Arms accordingly, that no one might be ignorant of their Pretensions. Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, the *English* Ambassador in *France*, complained of this Usurpation with great Freedom : But the frivolous Answer to his Complaints let him see the little Regard *France* had for his Mistress ; especially when the *French* Court declared, that the King and Queen of *Scotland* had only taken the Arms of *England* to oblige *Elizabeth* to quit those of *France*. To this *Throckmorton*, replied, that twelve Kings of *England* had carried the Arms and Title of King of *France*, without being obliged to quit them by any Treaty : But his Reasons were not heard ; and *Francis* and *Mary* still bore the Title they had usurped : Which made Queen *Elizabeth* justly conceive, they regarded her as illegitimate : So that from this Time, *Elizabeth* considered *Mary* as a dangerous Rival ; and the Princes of *Lorrain* her Uncles, the Authors of this Usurpation, as her most inveterate Enemies.

IF *France* and *Scotland* had remained in Tranquility, Father *Daniel*, a *French* Historian, acknowledges, that *England* was in Danger of being attacked from two Quarters at once, and disturbed at Home by the still numerous Adherents of the old Religion. The Princes of *Lorrain* formed a Design of attacking *England* by *Scotland* : But believed it impracticable, till the King and Queen were rendered absolute in their Kingdom, which had been terribly embroiled ever since their Marriage. With this View, they sent some Troops into *Scotland*, under the Command of *d'Oyel*, who received

A. D. 1560. ceived an Order to suffer no other Religion in that Kingdom than the *Roman Catholic*; and the Queen Regent began to execute it, by publishing an Edict to that Purpose. This could not fail of producing new Troubles, as the Number of Protestants was now so considerable in *Scotland*, that they were almost Masters in the Assemblies of the States: Nor was it probable, that they would be drawn into a Project for dethroning a Protestant Queen, who was establishing their Religion in *England*, to place a Catholic Queen on that Throne, who would thereby be enabled to destroy the Reformation in both Kingdoms.

HENRY the Second of *France* died on the 10th of *July*, and was succeeded by his Son *Francis* the Second, who sent more Forces into *Scotland*; where the Earl of *Argyle*, and the Earl of *Arran*, declared against the Regent, and levied Forces to support the Protestants: But they came to no Engagement; though this was the Origin of the *Scotch Troubles*; and Queen *Elizabeth* was their principal Object. The young King of *France* was incapable of holding the Reins of Government; and the two Princes of *Lorrain*, Uncles to the young Queen, were entrusted with the Administration; who persecuted the Protestants in *France*, and continued their Design of dethroning the Queen of *England*. While the King of *Spain* caused a great Number of Protestants to be burnt in that Kingdom; and, by these inhuman Executions, shewed the Subjects of the *Low Countries* what they were afterwards to expect, whose Privileges he had so far violated, as plainly discovered his Intention of reducing them to Slavery; in which he was gloriously opposed, and bravely prevented.

MARY, eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Eighth, ascended the Throne without any Disturbance from Abroad: But the principal Sovereigns of *Europe* endeavoured to wrest the Sceptre from *Elizabeth*, and this was principally owing to her invincible Attachment to the reformed Religion. *Elizabeth* had for Enemies, *France*, *Spain*, the Queen of *Scotland*, the Pope, and all the Catholic Powers: *Ireland* was so far from being kept

kept in Submission, that the Lords of that Country A. D. were continually committing Depredations upon one another, without acknowledging the royal Authority of the Lord-Lieutenant, any farther than it was found necessary to protect them against their Enemies; and the common *Irish* had an Attachment to the Pope equal to their Ignorance, which was extreme: Nor was it one of the least of *Elizabeth's* Cares to watch the Subjects of *England*, who had seen no less than four Alterations in the public Worship, in little more than twenty Years; and it is certain that the Number of *Roman* Catholics in the Kingdom was very great, though the Reformed were still more numerous. The Queen could depend on no Ally for Assistance; and was, therefore, to seek in herself, and her well-affected Subjects, what she would have vainly sought for elsewhere. Her principal Aim was to secure a tottering Crown; and she knew that the best Way to succeed was to gain the Affection of her People, which was the governing Maxim of her Conduct: The Qualities of her Heart and Mind were so disposed, that she never once deviated from so necessary a Rule: Wherefore, it may be affirmed, that no Monarch of *England* was ever more sincerely beloved by the People, than Queen *Elizabeth*; who never, through the whole Course of her Reign, was once denied by the Parliament the Supplies she wanted, or complained of by her Subjects for loading them with unnecessary Taxes.

As the *French* King had sent several Bodies of Troops into *Scotland*, the *English* Queen had Cause to fear, that, if *Mary* had Children by *Francis*, *France* and *Scotland* would be united under one Head, which it was her great Interest to prevent. Accordingly, she concluded a Treaty at *Berwick*, with the confederated *Scotch*; whereby she took all the Nobility and Subjects of that Kingdom under her Protection, to maintain their Liberties and Privileges; and expel the *French* entirely out of the Kingdom. An *English* Army of 7000 Foot, and 1200 Horse, commanded by *William Lord Grey of Wilton*, entered *Scotland* in April, and
joined

A. D. joined the confederated Scotch, amounting to 6000 Foot 1560. and 2000 Horse; after which, they marched together to *Leith*, where the French were retired. In the mean Time, Queen *Elizabeth* published a Manifesto to vindicate her Conduct; and the French Ambassador offered to restore *Calais*, if she would recal her Forces out of *Scotland*; but she answered, she did not value that *Fish-Town* so much as the *Quiet of Britain*.

THE Siege of *Leith* was undertaken with great Difficulties; though the Duke of *Norfolk*, Warden of the Northern Marches of *England*, brought a powerful Reinforcement to the *English* Camp. However, the Place would hardly have been taken, if the Conspiracy of *Amboise*, which was then discovered in *France*, had not convinced the Princes of *Lorrain*, that the Season was not proper for the Execution of their Designs against *England*, and made them think of recalling their Forces from *Scotland*. With this View, two French Ambassadors were sent into *Scotland*, and were met by two from *England*, who immediately agreed upon a *Truce*, which was soon followed by a Treaty concluded at *Edinburgh*, whereby it was stipulated, "That the King and Queen of *Scotland*, should not assume the Title of King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, nor bear the Arms of these Kingdoms; that the farther Satisfaction required by the Queen of *England*, for the Injury done her, should be referred to a Conference at *London*; and that, if the Commissioners could not agree, the Decision should be left to the King of *Spain*." The King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, also agreed with the Queen of *England* to perform their Promises made to the *Scots* at *Edinburgh*: In Consequence of which, the French and English quitted *Scotland*; and an *Act of Oblivion* was sent into that Kingdom, where it was confirmed by the States, who also made some Laws favourable to the Reformation, after the Death of the Queen-regent, who died in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, on the 10th of *June*. But the French Court refused to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; which convinced Queen *Elizabeth*, that the Princes of *Lorrain* still persisted

persisted in the Design to wrest the Crown from her ; A. D. and this Belief was ever rooted in her Mind : While ^{1560.} the Uncles of Queen *Mary* could not foresee how dear this Proceeding was to cost their Niece, whose Grandeur they so passionately desired.

WHILE *Elizabeth* was employed in these Affairs, her Court was attentive to watch her Motions, her Conduct, and Inclination with regard to Marriage. Some foreign Princes had already made their Addresses : These were followed by the Earl of *Arran*, who was esteemed the Heir apparent to the Crown of *Scotland* : And some of her own Subjects thought of aspiring to the Royal Bed ; but no Man believed he had better Ground to flatter his Hopes, than *Robert Dudley*, Son of the late Duke of *Northumberland* ; whom she so far dignified with her Favours, that at Court he was called only *my Lord*, without any other Addition, which demonstrated her Preference of him to all her Nobility. The Queen was indirectly assaulted on all the Sides which are generally thought weakest in a Woman : Yet her Love of Royalty, and a Consciousness of her own Dignity, made her disregard any connubial Engagement ; as she might preserve her Throne independent of any foreign Prince, and her Power without Restraint from any one of her own Subjects. The Business of Love was neglected for the more important Affairs of Government ; to which the Queen applied herself with great Assiduity, with a View of rendering her Subjects as happy as possible ; well knowing, her greatest Assistance was to flow from them, in Case of an Invasion, which she had Reason to expect.

FRANCIS the Second, King of *France* and *Scot-land*, died on the 5th of December 1560, in the Eight-^{1561.} tenth Year of his Age, and without Issue ; which occasioned great Alterations in the *French* Court, as he was succeeded by his Brother *Charles* the Ninth, who was governed by his Mother *Catherine de Medici* ; and the whole Kingdom was plunged in a bloody Civil War between the Chiefs of the Catholic Religion, and the French Protestants, commonly called *Huguenots*.

A. D. THE new French Monarch had no Pretence to concern himself with the Affairs of *Scotland*, any farther than as a common Ally; and he had no Manner of Demand upon *England*: Therefore, the Queen of *Scotland*, by the Advice of her Uncles, quitted the Title of Queen of *England*, which she had bore ever since the Treaty of *Cateau*. But this was not sufficient to satisfy *Elizabeth*, who, like her Grandfather *Henry the Seventh*, was so jealous of the Crown, that she was always uneasy on that Account; and sent an Ambassador to *Mary*, to press her to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*; who answered, that this Affair concerned her only as Queen of *Scotland*, and that she would not confirm it, without the Advice of her *Scottish* Nobility. On this Occasion, *Elizabeth* refused a safe Conduct to *Mary*, who was desirous to return into her Kingdom, and happily arrived there by Sea without any safe Conduct; though, if she had been taken, it is probable she would have been detained in *England*, at least till she had ratified the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

THE Friends of *Mary* advised her to enter into a strict Friendship with *Elizabeth*; to endeavour to be declared her presumptive Heir; and, under Colour of that Correspondence, to form a Party in *England*, where was no Want of Male-contents to be serviceable on Occasion: But both Queens were diffident of each other; and, though mutual Professions of Friendship passed between them, there was no real Cordiality; for *Elizabeth* was jealous that her Subjects would adore the Queen of *Scotland* as the Rising Sun, if she was declared presumptive Heir to the *English* Crown; and *Mary* suspected that the Queen of *England* intended to deprive her of the Succession, by wanting her to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, especially as the *English* had sufficiently discovered their Intention to regulate the Succession by the Will of *Henry the Eighth*, where the Posterity of *Margaret Queen of Scotland* was omitted, and the Dukes of *Suffolk* placed next to *Elizabeth*.

A. D. THE Dread of an Union between Great-Britain and France, was the only Band that had attached the King of

of Spain to *England*: But, on the Death of *Francis the A. D. Second*, he no longer dreaded such an Union, and became entirely estranged to Queen *Elizabeth*; who had also highly incurred the Displeasure of the Pope, by refusing to admit his Nuncio in *England*, or to send any of her Bishops to the Council of *Trent*. *Elizabeth*, therefore, took Care in Time for her Defence; for she employed the whole Year in Preparations; and always took Care to have a good Fleet in Readiness, knowing that her Navy was the best Bulwark of *England*. Some Disturbances broke out among the Catholics; and it was discovered that the Queen of *Scotland* was to serve for Pretence to the Revolt, on Account of her Title to the Crown of *England*: But the Earl and Countess of *Lenox* were sent to the *Tower*, for holding a secret Correspondence with *Mary*; while *Arthur Pole* and his Brother were imprisoned, for forming a Party in the Kingdom; which put a Stop to any Kind of Insurrection. The Countess of *Lenox* was the Daughter of *Margaret Queen of Scotland*, by the Earl of *Angus* her second Husband: And the *Poles* were descended from the House of *York*, being great Grand-children to *George Duke of Clarence*, Brother to *Edward the Fourth*; so that the Queen, in Consideration of their illustrious Descent, forgave their Offence. But *Catherine Grey*, Sister of the late unhappy Lady *Jane Grey*, was treated with some Severity by the Queen, only because she was her near Relation: For she had married, and was with Child by the Earl of *Hertford*; on which Account she was committed to the *Tower*, where she died after nine Years Imprisonment.

SHAN O-NEAL, Earl of *Tirone*, had fomented a Rebellion in *Ireland*, ever since the Year 1560; but now came and made his Submission to Queen *Elizabeth*, who granted him a Pardon: Though he soon after began another Insurrection, in which he perished.

THE Duke of *Guise* was at the Head of the Catholic Party in *France*, which was infinitely more powerful than that of the *Huguenots*, who applied to Queen *Elizabeth* for Assistance, and concluded a Treaty with

A. D. 1562. her, whereby they engaged to put the Queen in possession of *Havre-de-grace*, to be kept 'till the Restitution of *Calais*; and the Queen agreed to furnish them with 100,000 Crowns, and 6000 Men, half to be employed in the Defence of *Dieppe* and *Roan*, and half to be put into Garrison at *Havre-de-grace* in *Normandy*, where they arrived under the Command of *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*. The Battle of *Dreux* was fought, between the Catholics and the *Huguenots*, with almost equal Losses; the Prince of *Conde*, and the Constable *Montmorency*, who commanded the two Armies, being both taken Prisoners. The King of *Navarre* and the Duke of *Guise* invested *Roan* before the *English* Forces could arrive there to assist the *Huguenots*: However, about five Hundred of them were thrown into the Place, which was obliged to surrender after a vigorous Resistance, wherein the King of *Navarre* was mortally wounded.

A. D. 1563. THE Duke of *Guise* undertook the Siege of *Orleans*, which was continued with so much Vigour as to threaten the total Extinction of the *Huguenots*: But the Duke, after making himself Master of the Suburbs, was assassinated by one *Poitrot*, a Protestant Enthusiast, who discharged into his Breast a Pistol loaded with poisoned Balls, whereby he murdered the ablest General, and the finest Gentleman, that *France* or *Europe* had seen for many Years. The Duke lingered a short Time, and in his dying Moments sent his serious Advice to the Queen Regent to make a Peace on any Terms with the *Huguenots*; which was immediately concluded, without any Care taken by the Prince of *Conde* to have his generous Friend the Queen of *England* included. Nor was this all: For *Charles* the ninth besieged *Havre-de-grace*, and the *Huguenots* distinguished themselves in driving the *English* out of a Place which themselves had put into their Hands: However, the Town was defended by the Earl of *Warwick*, with great Bravery and Intrepidity; nor would it have been reduced if the Garrison had not been swept away by the Plague; which obliged them to capitulate, and restore

restore the Town to the French Monarch, who soon after concluded a Peace with the Queen of England, ^{A. D. 1563.} and the English Forces returned Home before they were free from the Plague, which made such terrible Ravages in England, that above 20,000 Persons died of it in London only.

THE Death of the Duke of Guise made some Alteration in the Affairs of the Queen of Scotland, who deserted the Advice of Queen Elizabeth concerning her proposed Marriage with the Arch-Duke: But Elizabeth told her, that such an Alliance would remove her for ever from the Throne of England, since the English would never run the Hazard of falling under the Dominion of the House of Austria; and advised her to marry some English Nobleman. Elizabeth intended the Lord Dudley for the Husband of Mary, who desisted from the Design of marrying the Arch-Duke, but determined to evade the Proposal concerning Dudley.

THE Queen of England, was now in the Thirtieth Year of her Age; and the Queen of Scotland in her Twenty-second. The former was agreeable in Person; and the latter so beautiful, that, as it has been well observed, even to this Day, among her Countrymen, the Name of Mary is only another Name for Beauty itself. It was the Interest of Elizabeth to keep Mary from marrying at all; but Mary was determined to choose a Husband for herself, and cast her Eyes upon Henry Lord Darnley, Son of the Countess of Lenox, who, as has been observed before, was the Daughter of Queen Margaret, by her second Marriage with the Earl of Angus, as Mary was the Grand-daughter by her first Marriage with James the Fourth, and this Margaret was eldest Daughter of Henry the Seventh of England. Lord Darnley was therefore the first Prince of the Tudor Line, and had been bred up in the Court of England: He was nineteen Years old; and had the most graceful Personage of his Age. Mary was infatuated by the Accounts she received of his Beauty, and was also in Hopes of receiving a considerable Adyantage by this Marriage, especially as the Duke-

A. D. ~~1564.~~ *ess of Suffolk was dead: For it could be alledged, in Behalf of the Countess of Lenox, that she was one Degree nearer than Mary, in the Succession of the Crown of England; and she imagined, that this Reason, would prevail, if supported by Elizabeth: So, to avoid this Competition, Mary resolved to unite the Titles of the two Families by her Marriage with the Lord Darnley, Son of Mathew Stewart, Earl of Lenox, to whom Henry the Eighth had given his Niece in Marriage; on which Account he withdrew into England, in the Reign of that Prince.*

In this whole Affair, the two Queens behaved with equal Dissimulation. Mary artfully drew the Earl of Lenox and Lord Darnley into Scotland: While Elizabeth sent the Earl of Bedford with a formal Proposal to Mary for her to marry Dudley, lately created Earl of Leicester. Queen Elizabeth herself told Melville, " That she esteemed Dudley as her Brother, and best Friend, whom she would have herself married, had she ever been minded to have taken a Husband :" But Mary had fixed her Heart upon Darnley, and thought Elizabeth only proposed Leicester to her, that she herself might marry him with less Dishonour, after his having been encouraged by a Queen.

A. D. ~~1565.~~ *THE Queen of Scotland had for some Time entertained David Rizio, or Rizzio, an Italian, who governed her absolutely, which brought on her Destruction. He was the Son of a Musician at Turin, and attended Count de Muretto in his Ambassy to Scotland, where his elegant Taste for Music gave him an Opportunity of insinuating himself into the Favour of the Queen. It has been apprehended, that Rizio advised Queen Mary to marry Lord Darnley: Nor is it improbable; for, when that Lord arrived in Scotland, Rizio instantly contracted so close a Friendship with him, that they both lay in the same Bed. The Earl of Murray, and many others of the Principal Scotch Nobility, were greatly averse to the intended Marriage of their Queen to Lord Darnley, especially as he was a Roman Catholic, and might endanger the Reformation in Scotland: The Peo-*

ple also began to murmur by the Instigations of the A. D. disaffected Lords, who confederated themselves to prevent the Marriage. But all was in vain ; the Queen was infatuated, and was determined to make *Darnley* a King, on whom she had lately conferred the Titles of Duke of *Rothsay*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Baron of *Ardenac*, which are the usual Titles of the eldest and second Sons of *Scotland*. She communicated her Design to *Elizabeth*, for her Approbation ; since, by her Advice, she had chose an *Englishman*, descended from the Royal Blood of both Kingdoms, and the first Nobleman of all *Britain*. *Elizabeth* expressed her Dislike of this Marriage in the strongest Terms ; signifying to the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darnley*, that their Estates would be forfeited, if they did not immediately return to *England* ; and also by encouraging the discontented Lords with Hopes of her Protection. However, *Mary* solemnized her Marriage with Lord *Darnley*, in her own Chapel, on the 29th of *July* : After which she put herself at the Head of 4000 Men, and obliged the confederate Lords to retire into *England* ; where they found a safe Retreat, notwithstanding the Treaty of 1560, whereby the two Queens mutually promised to deliver the fugitive Rebels : But *Elizabeth* disowned that she was concerned in their Rebellion.

MARY ordered that her new Husband should be A. D. styled King of *Scotland*, and shewed great Fondness for him at first : But this was soon after turned into an extreme Aversion. She has been accused of many Familiarities with her Favourite *Rizio* : They may unjustly have been called scandalous ; but they were certainly indiscreet. Her Husband grew jealous, and that Jealousy was increased by the Friends of the fugitive Lords, who so far aggravated many Circumstances to the King concerning *Rizio*, as to inspire him with the Design of dispatching him out of the Way. His Instruments were the Earl of *Morton* and some others, who wounded him in the Presence of the Queen, when she was advanced about five Months in her Pregnancy ;

A. D. which made *Melvil* say, it appeared to be done, to 1566. destroy both her and her Child: They then drew *Rizio* into an outer Room, and completed the Murder with fifty-six Stabs.

UPON the Death of *Rizio*, a Guard was set upon the Queen, and the fugitive Lords returned to Court. She escaped to *Dunbar*, and by her Tongue seemed reconciled to her Husband; though she hated him in her Heart: For now the Earl of *Bothwel* began to hold the Place which *Rizio* had possessed in her Affection. The Queen had resolved to lie-in at *Stirling*: But, seeing the King arrive there, she retired without him to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where she was delivered of a Prince on the 19th of *June*, who was baptized by the Name of *James*, after the Manner of the Church of *Rome*: He afterwards succeeded his Mother in the Throne of *Scotland*, and Queen *Elizabeth* in the Throne of *England*, the latter of whom was his Godmother; saying, "That the Queen of *Scots* was Mother of a Son, while she was but a barren Stock."

THE *Scotch* Queen treated her Husband with great Indifference and Indignity. While she bestowed all her Favours on *Bothwel*, who appeared with a royal Magnificence; upon which the King retired to *Glasgow*, where he was seized with a violent Illness, occasioned by Poison; though, with great Difficulty, he overcame the Violence of his Distemper. It is reported that he was poisoned by the Earl of *Bothwel*; of which there is great Probability; because he was soon afterwards certainly murdered by the Earl, who married the Queen a few Months after the tragical Death of the King her Spouse.

A. D. *DARNLEY* is said "To have every bad Quality 1567. both of Head and Heart; that his Conceptions were narrow, yet his Ambition insatiable: That he headed a Party, which was for stripping the Queen of all Authority: That his Conduct was disrespectful and factious; his Behaviour lewd and insolent; his Companions Sots and Fools; and his Advisers Villains and Traitors; as also that he had the Brutality to taint the Queen

Queen with a Disease, then as uncommon as it is loath-^{A. D.}
some :" But this could never justify his Murder, or ex-^{1567.}
cuse his Murderers. It is certain, that he was assassi-
nated the Beginning of the Year 1567 ; after a Divorce
had been proposed by *Bothwel, Murray*, and others, to
the Queen ; which she rejected. In the mean Time,
her Husband fell sick ; and the Queen forgot her Ma-
jesty, to prove herself to be a Wife. She had him
removed to *Edinburgh*, and lodged in the *Kirkfield*, as a
Place of good Air, where he might best recover his
Health. She continued to visit him with the most
endearing Marks of her Affection ; and her greatest
Enemies confess, she omitted nothing to persuade him,
she did not bear him the least Ill-Will : But all her
Tenderness for *Darnley* has been misrepresented by her
Enemies. After the King had lodged in a lonely
House near the Walls of the City about a Fortnight,
the House was blown up with Gun-powder, in the
Night, of the 10th of *February*, and his dead Body
was found at some Distance from the Ruins : After
which it was said, on one Hand, that the Violence of
the Gun-powder threw the King into the Garden ;
and, on the other, that he was strangled with a Nap-
kin, and thrown into the Garden, before the House was
blown up : The latter of which Accounts is the most
probable. *Buchanan* says, the Queen ordered the Body
to be interred near *Rizio* ; but this has been called an
infamous Lie by a Modern, and infinitely more disinter-
ested Author, who has honestly vindicated the Cha-
racter of *Mary*, from the cruel and virulent Aspersions
of her Enemies. It is certain, the Body of *Darnley*
was interred with the Remains of other royal Person-
ages, and not mingled with the ignoble Dust of *Rizio*.
The Queen was, to Appearance, inconsolable, and
omitted nothing to bring the Murderers to Justice ; of
which the Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the murdered King,
expressed his Satisfaction, in a Letter to the Queen :
But he accused the Earl of *Bothwel*, and six other Per-
sons, with the Murder. They were brought to Trial
on the 12th of *April*, and acquitted by a Jury, of
G 5 which

A. D. which the Earl of *Caitness* was Foreman: But this
 1567. Acquittal caused great Clamour against the Queen, be-
 cause of the Notoriety of *Bothwel's* Guilt, who was
 acquitted by Law, when he ought to have been con-
 demned by Justice.

THE Nature of this shocking Murder has been dif-
 ferently related; and the Blood of *Darnley* laid to the
 Charge of his Queen, as well as of *Murray* and *Both-
 well*. *William Camden* has defended *Mary*, and repre-
 sented the Earl of *Murray* as the Author, not only of
 the Crime, but even of all the Troubles which hap-
 pened in *Scotland*, after the Marriage of the Queen
 with *Francis the Second*. He represents *Mary* as a Pat-
 tern of Virtue; and, where the two Queens must be
 necessarily put in Opposition, he does it so artfully,
 that *Elizabeth* appears to be in the Wrong.

As the Intention of *Camden* was to vindicate *Mary*;
 so the Design of *George Buchanan* was to blacken her
 Reputation. He was a *Scotchman*, and a Protestant;
 whose Aim was to shew, that Queen *Mary* was the sole
 Cause of the Troubles of *Scotland*, and particularly the
 Author of the Death of her Husband.

JAMES MELVIL, in his Memoirs, slightly
 touches upon such Passages that can reflect on the
 Queen; but his Memoirs agree in the principal Parts
 related by *Buchanan*.

IT is difficult to find out the Truth from what has
 been related by these three different Historians. *Cam-
 den* was employed by *James the First*, to justify the
 Character of his Mother Queen *Mary*: Which made
Osborn say, "That his Lines were directed by King
James, and he led rather to vindicate the Honour and
 Integrity of his Mother, than to do Right for a Mistress,
 that had from a Schoolmaster, raised him to a Capacity
 of being the first King at Arms." *Buchanan* was a
 Creature to the Earl of *Murray*; and is called by *Cam-
 den*, a mercenary Writer, whose Works were con-
 demned by the States of *Scotland*. But *Melvil* is irre-
 proachable; for he was much esteemed by *Mary*,
 who employed him in several Embassies, and of whom

he

he speaks every where with such great Caution, that A. D. it is plain he was always attached to the Interest of 1562. that Princess: Nor has he wrote either to praise or accuse the Queen, but purely for the Instruction of his Son, in what passed in his own Times, from the Year 1563 to 1594. Though it has been said, of these three Historians, in Regard to Queen *Mary*, "That *Camden* has scarce said one Word of Truth; that *Buchanan* has said all the Truth, and more than the Truth; as also that *Melvil* has said the Truth, but not the whole Truth." Though, says a modern Historian, "The Truth is, both *Mary* and *Lenox* were basely abused. *Morton* and *Murray*, with their Faction, were deeply with *Bothwel* in the Contrivance, if not in the Execution of the Murder; and, though they seemed to be the loudest in the Chace, yet they artfully foiled the Scent."

MELVIL says, "Every Body suspected the Earl of *Bothwel*; who remained still the greatest Favourite at Court." He now began to throw off the Mask of his Ambition, and to think of making the Queen his Wife, whose Person he seized on her Return from *Stirling* to *Edinburgh*, and conveyed her to his Castle of *Dunbar*, under a Kind of Restraint; though, without Resistance on her Part. *Bothwel* procured a Divorce from his Wife, and carried the Queen to *Edinburgh*, where he prevailed on her to create him Duke of *Orkney*, and to marry him; which more than ever alienated the Affection of her Subjects, as she had married a Man, who was universally considered as the Murderer of her former Husband. Her Conduct was disapproved by Queen *Elizabeth*, who had dissuaded her from such a Match, as the Parliament of *Scotland* itself had not declared *Bothwell* to be innocent. The French Monarch signified his Astonishment at the Marriage: While several *Scotch* Lords signed a Confederacy to dissolve it, and bring the Murderers of the King to condign Punishment.

BOTHWEL increased his Guilt by his Insolency; and treated the Queen with such Brutality, that *Melvil*

A. D. says, he heard her one Day call for a Knife to stab her.
1567. self, being unable to bear his unmanly Treatment.

While *Mary* and *Bothwel* were raising Forces at *Dunbar*, the confederated Lords entered *Edinburgh*, where they were joined by many of the Citizens. Both Armies met within six Miles of the City, where *Mary* found her Troops extremely cold in the Quarrel of *Bothwel*, whom she ordered to provide for his own Safety by Flight, and took the fatal Resolution of submitting to the Lords, who led her to their Camp, and, instead of stopping where they ought, by laying hold of *Mary*'s growing Disesteem for *Bothwel*, proceeded to Acts of the blackest Treason and Cruelty. They carried their Queen to *Edinburgh* like a Prisoner; and, as such, confined her to the Castle of *Lochleven*, situated in the Middle of a Lake, where she was committed to the Custody of the Earl of *Murray*'s Mother, who pretended to have been married to *Mary*'s Father, and was an irreconcileable Enemy to all the legitimate Branches of the House of *Stewart*.

KNOX from the Pulpit, and *Buchanan* from the Press, had so much inflamed the Minds of the infatuated People, that it seemed they could be no otherwise appeased than by the Blood of their unhappy Queen. The Nobility were for bringing her to a Trial, and depriving her of her Life: They pretended to have many Precedents, grounded on their own Laws, for putting to Death their Sovereigns: But they were afraid of practising them, as they might draw on the Resentment of the Queen of *England*, and other sovereign Princes, by setting a flagrant Example of Rebellion to the rest of the World. However, they compelled their Queen to sign three Instruments; whereby she quitted the Government in Favour of her Son, and constituted *Murray* to act as Regent during the Minority. The Prince was crowned at *Stirling*, when he was 13 Months old: And the Queen was treated with the utmost Inhumanity, notwithstanding the Courts of *England* and *France* interfered to get her at Liberty, and the most

most rational Part of her Subjects compassionated her ^{A. D.} unhappy Situation. ^{1567.}

QUEEN *Mary* found Means to write a private Letter ^{A. D.} to Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Conduct to her had been ^{1568.} irreproachable during all her Misfortunes. The same Day *Mary* made her Escape, by the Assistance of some Friends; and, notwithstanding all the Arts of her Enemies, she was still so much beloved in her Kingdom, that she was at the Head of 6000 Men in a few Hours after she was at Liberty: While *Batbowel* fled from the *Orkneys*, and took Refuge in *Denmark*, where he finished his impious Life, in great Want and Misery; yet, even then, doing Justice to the injured Honour of his Sovereign. *Mary* was joined by several of her Nobility: But *Murray*, the Regent, marched an Army against the Queen, and, on the 13th of *May*, dispersed her Forces at *Langside*: Upon which, *Mary* was so much dispirited, that she put her Safety in Flight. She was attended by a few faithful Friends, who conjured her not to seek for Protection in *England*: But *Mary* had so good an Opinion of *Elizabeth*, that she was deaf to all Remonstrances, and took Passage in *Galloway*, in a Fisher-boat, with *Lord Herries*, and some others, who arrived at *Workington* in *Cumberland*, from whence she was honourably conducted to *Carlisle*.

THIS Retreat into *England* was fatal to the Queen of *Scotland*. *Mary* had no safe Conduct from *Elizabeth*: *Leicester* became her mortal Enemy, the Moment he heard of her Misfortunes; and *Cecil* had been so from the Beginning. *Mary* in vain solicited to have an Interview with *Elizabeth*: She complained to her of the Behaviour of the *English* Ministers; and told her she was kept like a Prisoner at *Carlisle*. She threatened to appeal to all the Princes of *Europe*, whether she had received the Treatment due to a distressed Queen from her Protectress: But *Elizabeth* was so much offended at such Expressions, as to say, "The *English* Lion was generous; yet not to be braved."

THE Countess of *Lenox* had Access to the Queen of *England*, and was perpetually applying to her for Redress

A. D. drefs on the Murderers of her Son: Upon which *Mary* ^{1568.} offered to have her Innocency tried before *Elizabeth*, in *Westminster-Hall*. *Elizabeth* took *Mary* at her Word, and appointed the Duke of *Norfolk*, with other Commissioners, to hear the mutual Charges between her and her Subjects; which Commissioners were met at *York* by the Bishop of *Ross* and others for Queen *Mary*, as also by the Earl of *Murray*, with other Commissioners of *Scotland*, on the 4th of *October*. The Earl of *Murray* produced the whole Strength of his Evidence against his Queen, consisting in Letters, said to be written by her to *Bothwel*, which implied that she was accessory to the Murder of *Darnley*; but *Murray* was so conscious that these Letters were forged, that he thought proper to mention them no more after they were exhibited.

THE Enemies of *Mary* improved every Circumstance to her Discredit with *Elizabeth*; and perhaps the latter Queen would have been glad to have found the former guilty. *Elizabeth* removed the Session of this Commission from *York* to *Westminster*, where *Murray* became the Accuser of the Queen, who at *York* had been the Accuser of *Murray*. The Earl accused *Bothwel* as the Perpetrator of the Murder of the King, and the Queen as an Accessary: Whereupon *Mary* requested that she might clear herself in Person before *Elizabeth*; promising to throw the whole Blame of this Accusation on *Murray* and his Colleagues; but her Enemies prevented her from being indulged in that Request, to which she had an indubitable Right, as being apprehensive that her Innocence would become apparent to all the World. This occasioned the Commissioners for *Mary* to enter a Protest against all farther Proceedings, which put an End to the Conferences: But her Commissioners offered, if she might be brought to a public Trial, to bring Proofs that *Murray*, or his Associates, were the Murderers of her Husband.

A. D. THE Queen of *Scotland* was now at *Bolton Castle*, ^{1569.} under the Care of Lord *Scroop* and Sir *Francis Krolles*: From whence she sent a Letter to her Friends in *Scotland*,

land, upbraiding the Queen of *England* with Breach of A. D. Promise, and Treachery towards her Cause; which 1569. Letter was intercepted by *Elizabeth*, and gave her a stronger Aversion to *Mary*. At this Time, *Murray* himself made a Proposal to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to marry him to the Queen of *Scotland*; which pleased the Duke: But Queen *Elizabeth* was so much incensed with *Mary*, that she ordered her to be removed as a Prisoner to *Tutbury*, which was a royal Castle in *Staffordshire*, committed to the Care of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*. Queen *Mary* had little Liberty: Yet she wrote to the Courts of *France* and *Spain* about her Marriage with *Norfolk*, and both those Monarchs approved of the Match, which served only the more to exasperate *Elizabeth*, who committed *Norfolk*, and his Friend the Lord *Lumley*, to the *Tower*. This was the Occasion of a Rebellion in the North, headed by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, who were Friends to *Mary*, and the *Roman Catholics*: They were at the Head of about 6000 Men, and proposed to deliver *Mary* from her Imprisonment at *Tutbury Castle*: But, understanding that her Keepers had removed her to *Coventry*, they laid that Project aside, and took *Bernard Castle*. The Earl of *Suffex* was sent against the Rebels, with 7000 Men; and the rebel Lords, at *Neworth*, deserted their Followers, many of whom were executed. After this, another Insurrection was headed by *Leonard Dacres*, second Son to Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*; but it was speedily suppressed by the Lord *Hunsdon*.

MURRAY requested Queen *Elizabeth* to deliver Queen *Mary* into his Hands, which she refused; and he was soon afterwards murdered by one *Hamilton*, on Occasion of a private Quarrel. *Elizabeth* would have *Lenox* to succeed him as Regent, and sent an Army into *Scotland* for that Purpose, who committed great Plunder in their March to *Edinburgh*, and obliged the Scotch Nobility to accept of *Lenox* for their Regent; after which they returned to *England*.

THE *English* Papists published Libels against Queen *Elizabeth*, for her Confinement of *Mary*, who was promised

A. Demised Assistance from *France* and *Spain*. One *Felton* was 1569. so audacious as to fix the Bull of her Excommunication upon the Doors of the episcopal Palace in *London*; for which he was executed. But Queen *Elizabeth* counter-ballanced one Motive of Interest with another; and, about this Time, politically seemed to give Ear to a Proposal of a Marriage, formerly mentioned by the Queen-mother of *France*, between herself and the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to the *French* King: Though this was only to amuse the *French*, who befriended *Mary* only to serve their own Views against *England*. *Mary* was now confined at *Chatsworth* in *Derbyshire*; and a Conspiracy, headed by two Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, was entered into for delivering her from her Confinement; but the Conspiracy was discovered, and *Mary* more carefully looked after; though *Elizabeth* had entered into a Treaty for her Deliverance: However, the Duke of *Norfolk* was released from the *Tower*, on giving his Bond never to prosecute his Affair with the Queen of *Scots*, and on his remaining at *Howard House*, now called the *Charter-house*, in *London*. The Archbishop of *St. Andrews* was executed upon a Gibbet at *Stirling*, for his Attachment to *Mary*; who soon afterwards fell a Sacrifice herself.

DURING these Transactions between the two Queens, the Term for the Restitution of *Calais* was expired: But the *French* King refused to perform the Treaty of *Cateau*, and deliver up the Town, which was demanded by *Elizabeth*, who kept her Country in a profound Peace, for some Years; while *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Low Countries*, were in Trouble and Confusion. It was scarce to be doubted, that the War, which was waging at once with the Protestants of *France* and the *Low Countries*, was the Effect of the mutual Counsels of the *French* and *Spanish* Courts; and that the Destruction of the Protestant Religion, was the principal Object these two Courts had in View. A barbarous Massacre was made of the Protestants in *Paris*, where the great *Coligny* was inhumanly murdered: While the Cruelty of the Duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands* was unparalleled,

leled, and the brave Count of *Egmont* was beheaded at ^{A. D.} *Brussels*; after which, no Offers from *Philip* could pacify ^{1569.} the *Netherlands*, who never left pursuing their Revenge, till they had entirely shook off the *Spanish* Yoke.

QUEEN *Elizabeth* assisted the *French Huguenots* with a Hundred Thousand Crowns of Gold, and a good Train of Artillery. She also protected many *Flemish* Families, who fled to *England* for Refuge from the Barbarity of the *Spaniards*; and she gave them Leave to settle in several good Towns, particularly *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, and *Maidstone*, which turned to the great Advantage of *England*; for these *Flemings* were the first that brought into the Nation the Art of making Bays and Says, and other Goods of the like Kind. The *English* Commerce was interrupted with *Spain*: But the Queen took Care to extend it in *Russia*, where she obtained from the Czar *Bafilowitz* several considerable Privileges for her Merchants.

THE Queen of *Scotland* had several Friends in that Kingdom, who killed the Earl of *Lenox* in cold Blood, and the Earl of *Mar* was chosen Regent in his Room. The Pope, *Spain*, the House of *Lorrain*, the *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Catholics, confined not themselves to the freeing the unhappy Queen, but their Aim was to set her on the Throne of *England*; and consequently it was more dangerous for *Elizabeth* to release her, than to keep her confined, which induced her to amuse *Mary* only with the Hopes of Liberty, while she determined within herself to keep her Prisoner. By detaining *Mary* in Prison, there was no Question, *Elizabeth* would incur the Indignation of all *Europe*, by this excessive Severity, the Motives whereof would not be generally known. It cannot be denied, that a Sovereign has Power to seize a foreign Prince, who enters his Territories without a safe Conduct: But there are Cases wherein strict Right becomes the greatest Injustice. Such was the Case of *Richard* the First of *England*, when he was seized by *Leopold* Duke of *Austria*, and imprisoned fifteen Months: Such also was the Case of the King of *Scotland*'s eldest Son, who was seized by *Henry* the Fourth

A. D. *Fourth of England*, under Colour that he was come in 1569. to his Dominions without Leave ; and that Prince was detained till the Reign of *Henry the Sixth*. But, in *Mary's Case*, the Circumstances appeared still more favourable : For it was a Woman vanquished by her own Subjects, whose Violence she feared, and who, far from being suspected of any ill Design against *England*, was come only for Refuge in a Country, where she seemed the next Heir to the Crown, and to implore the Protection of a Queen her near Relation, who had always affected to give her Marks of her Friendship : So that to consider her Faults, only as a Sort of Breach of the Law of Nations, she could not deserve to be detained in Captivity.

A. D. 1572. THE Duke of *Norfolk* was still in Expectation of espousing the Queen of *Scotland*, with whom he held a Correspondence : But this was soon discovered by *Elizabeth*, who committed him to the *Tower* ; and, on the 16th of *January 1572*, he was brought to his Trial before the Peers of the Realm, being accused with having attempted to deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life ; to seize the Throne himself by the Help of Foreigners ; to marry the Queen of *Scotland* ; and with having formed other pernicious Designs against the Government. *George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury*, was constituted Lord High-Steward of *England* for that Day, and with him sat twenty-five Peers. The Strength of the Defence made by the Duke, was, that his Design to marry the Queen of *Scots* could not be reckoned high Treason ; neither could it be thence inferred, that he intended to seize the Throne. But it was replied, that, in espousing the Queen of *Scots*, he designed to assert her Claim to the Crown of *England*. At last, after a long Examination, he was condemned as guilty of high Treason : But the Sentence was not executed till the 2d of *June*, when he was be-headed on *Tower-Hill*, and afterwards buried in the *Tower Chapel*. He was Son to the Earl of *Surry*, be-headed in the latter Part of the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*, for quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confessor* with his own, without Licence

Licence from the King. The Duke confessed Part of his Accusation, but denied his having consented to deprive *Elizabeth* of her Crown; excused himself as to the rest, and in general owned he was justly condemned. Though, as he died a Protestant, his Declaration ought to be credited, that he never had any Thoughts of restoring the Popish Religion in *England*; notwithstanding it was the Intention of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, that the Duke should be instrumental to such a Thing. Thus perished the first Nobleman of *England*, for aspiring to be more: The Fate of his Father might have checked his Ambition: And the Warning the Queen gave him, "To beware on what Pillow he laid his Head," might have made him sensible of his Danger; nor was she pleased, when he told her, that "his Revenues were equal to those of impoverished *Scotland*; and that, when he was at his Tennis-Court in *Norwich*, he thought himself as good as some Kings." His Behaviour on the Scaffold was noble and decent: He refused to have his Eyes blinded, being, as he said, fearless of Death; and he died much lamented.

TEN Days after the Death of the Duke of *Norfolk*, Queen *Elizabeth* sent four Privy-Counsellors to the Queen of *Scotland*, to inform her what she had been charged with, in the Trial of the Duke of *Norfolk*; not, as *Camden* affirms, to accuse her criminally. It was chiefly to let her know, that her Practices were discovered; and therefore she had been more closely confined, as also reduced to a smaller Number of Domestics. She was charged with a Design of privately marrying the Duke of *Norfolk*; of fomenting the Northern Rebellion; of soliciting the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, to invade *England*; of procuring the Papal Bull; and of suffering her Agents in foreign Parts to stile her publicly Queen of *England*. She acknowledged her Intention of marrying *Norfolk*: But how could she do this, when *Bothwel* was alive, and her Marriage to him was not annulled? She denied the rest; and said, when she saw a Copy of the Bull, she threw it into the Fire: But, in Case she was to be tried,

she

A. D. ^{1572.} she desired it might be before the Parliament, as a Princess of the Blood-Royal of *England*.

ELIZABETH entered into a defensive League with *Charles the Ninth of France*: But, after the barbarous Massacre of his *Huguenot* Subjects, she told him she could no longer place any Confidence in him or his Ministry, who had even deceived the sagacious and well-meaning *Walsingham*. However, *Charles* now offered his younger Brother, the Duke of *Alençon*, to *Elizabeth* for a Husband; which she refused; and, at the same Time, stood God-mother to the Child of the French Monarch.

THE Earl of *Northumberland* was delivered up by the *Scots*, and beheaded at *York*: While the Court of *England* was no less forward than that of *France*, to perpetuate the Troubles in *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Mar* died, and was succeeded in the Regency by the Earl of *Morton*, who was devoted to the Interest of Queen *Elizabeth*, which made it unnecessary for her to continue a Discord among the *Scots*. The Queen had the Small-Pox this Year: But after her Recovery, she ordered her Sea-ports to be strengthened, her Navy to be increased, and the Militia to be exercised; being apprehensive of some Invasion from abroad, as it was known the Queen of *Scotland* had been offered Assistance from the *Roman Catholic* Powers.

A. D. ^{1573.} THE *Scotch* Lords, in the Interest of *Mary*, became reconciled to the new Regent: Though *Kirkcaldie*, the Laird of *Grange*, kept Possession of the Castle of *Edinburgh* for her, till the Regent took it with the Assistance of some *English* Troops from *Berwick*: After which, that gallant Officer was hanged, with some others of his Party: Though *Melvil* gives him an extraordinary Character; and says, he heard *Henry the Second of France* tell his Courtiers, as he pointed to *Grange*, "Yonder is one of the most valiant Men of our Age." This ended the civil Wars of *Scotland*; and *England* was no more in Danger of being invaded from that Quarter.

QUEEN *Catherine de Medici*, politic as she was, could not

not help making a false Step, in discovering to *Wal-* A. D. *singham*, that the Design of the *French* Court, was to ^{1573.} foment the Troubles in *Scotland*. This faithful Ambassador informed *Elizabeth* of his Discovery, who told the *French* Ambassador, in Answer to his Importunities to speak to the *Queen of Scots* in private, "She was not ignorant of the Practices of his Master, and the Queen-Mother, in Favour of *Mary* ; and how they stood affected to *England*." The Civil Wars in *France* laid waste the Kingdom, and the *Huguenots* so gallantly defended *Rochelle*, that the Duke of *Anjou* was obliged to raise the Siege : So that the *French* Monarch was unable to attempt any Thing upon *England*, which remained in full Tranquillity, while the *Queen* enjoyed the utmost Felicity in promoting the Welfare of her People.

CHARLES the Ninth of *France*, died in the 25th A. D. Year of his Age, and was succeeded by his Brother, ^{1574.} Henry the Third : But nothing memorable happened in *England*, for a considerable Time, except the Marriage of *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Uncle to the King of *Scotland*, with *Elizabeth Cavendish*, Daughter of the Countess of *Shrewsbury*. The *French Huguenots* were still persecuted ; and *Don John of Austria* came into the *Low-Countries*, with a Design to subdue the *Netherlands* entirely ; and to become Sovereign of *England* and *Scotland*, by marrying the *Queen of Scots* : but, from this Time, *Elizabeth* concerned herself so far with the United Provinces, that she would not suffer the States to come to any important Resolution, without giving her Notice ; as she intended to take them under her Protection : Though, at the Time she lent them Money, she wrote to the King of *Spain*, that she supplied the Confederates only to secure these Provinces to him, and hinder them from desperately throwing themselves into the Arms of *France*. *Philip* returned this Favour, by endeavouring to raise a Rebellion in *Ireland*, on a Project formed by *Thomas Stukely*, an *English* Fugitive, who persuaded *Pope Gregory the Thirteenth*, that he might conquer *Ireland*, and procure the Crown of that Kingdom for his bastard Son *Jacomo Boncompagno* : But *Stukely* perished with *Don Sebastian*

A. D. Sebastian King of *Portugal*, in *Africa*; and the Spaniſh 1574. Monarch relinquished the Project of conquering *Ireland*, for that of securing the Crown of *Portugal*.

A. D. 1579. THE Duke of *Anjou* began again to negotiate his Marriage with the Queen of *England*, who shewed the French Envoys such great Respect, that, as she was with them one Day in her Barge near *Greenwich*, a Pistol was discharged out of a Boat, and wounded one of her Barge-men; which was imagined to be done with an Intent to destroy Simé one of the French Envoys. The Man that fired the Pistol was taken immediately: But cleared himself so ingenuously, that the Queen was persuaded of his Innocence; and took Occasion from pardoning him, to display the Affection she had for her Subjects, saying, "She could believe nothing of her People, which a Parent could not believe of his own Children." Soon after, the Duke of *Anjou* came privately to the *English* Court, where he had some Discourse with the Queen, and returned to *France*. It is highly probable, the Queen intended only to amuse the Duke: For the French King sent an honourable Embassy to her, and the Marriage Articles were drawn up; after which, the Duke came over to *England* again: But the Queen pretended that her Subjects exclaimed against the Marriage, and started so many Difficulties, that it came to nothing. Strada, and some other Historians say, that Queen *Elizabeth* set this Treaty of Marriage on Foot, only to break off the Design of a Match between the Duke of *Anjou*, and a Daughter of the King of *Spain*; which is very probable, considering how afraid *Elizabeth* was of an Union between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*; without considering the Disparity of their Age, as *Elizabeth* was then in her forty-eighth Year, and the Duke only in his twenty-third. However, she punished John Stubbs of *Lincoln's-Inn*, for writing a Book against the Marriage, whose Right Hand was cut off, by driving a Cleaver through the Wrist with a Mallet, on a Scaffold at *Westminster*: But his Courage and Loyalty were so great, that, after his Right Hand was cut off, he pulled off

off his Hat with his Left, and said, with a loud Voice, A. D.
" God save the Queen." 1579.

THE Menaces from the Pope and King of *Spain*, A. D. were partly put into Execution against *Ireland*, where 1580. 700 *Spaniards* and *Italians* landed, under the Command of *San Joseppo* an *Italian*, with Arms for 6000 Men, and raised a Fortification, which they called *Fort del Oro*: but they were soon compelled, by the Lord Deputy *Grey*, and the Earl of *Ormond*, to surrender at Discretion, when they were all put to the Sword.

THIS Year was also memorable for the Voyage of Captain *Francis Drake* round the World. He had amassed a prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver taken from the *Spaniards*, who made great Complaints, and required that *Drake* should be punished for daring to sail in the Seas belonging to the Dominions of the King of *Spain*: But *Drake* was knighted, instead of being punished by *Elizabeth*, and the *Spanish* Ambassador was told, that the *Indian Ocean* was common to all the Nations of *Europe*; as also, that the *English* by no Means allowed of the Propriety assumed by the King of *Spain*, nor of the pretended Donation made by the Pope, who had no Right to dispose of Countries and Seas which belonged not to him.

FOUR Priests had been executed, for daring to maintain publicly, that the Queen was lawfully deposed 1582. by the Pope. Some severe Laws were passed against the Catholics, on Account of the furious Zeal and Imprudence of some of them, that drew upon the whole Body, Severities to which the Queen would not have been easily led, if they had been contented to live in Quiet, and exercise their Religion in private, without attacking the Government.

ELIZABETH and her Ministers, after the Return A. D. of *Anjou*, to *France*, were in continual Apprehension 1584. that some terrible Storm was going to fall upon *England*: For the Duke of *Guise* was now labouring to take from her the young King of *Scotland*, who, by the Influence of the new created Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Arran*, had removed *Morton* from the Regency, and

A. D. and ordered him to be be-headed, on an Accusation of
1584. being concerned in the Murder of the late King: The
Irish only wanted a favourable Opportunity to revolt;
and the Popish Emissaries were incessantly exciting the
English Catholics to a Rebellion. But *Elizabeth* govern-
ed her People with such Justice and Lenity, that she
relied entirely on their Affection, and took few Precau-
tions to prevent or repel the Danger. She was flan-
dered by the Jesuits abroad, for putting some of them
to the Rack: But, to shew her Lenity, she ordered
seventy of them to be transported who were in Prison,
and some of whom were under Sentence of Death.

SEVERAL Plots were formed in *England*, in Favour
of the Queen of *Scotland*; for one of which *Francis*
Throckmorton was hanged; the *Spanish* Ambassador or-
dered to quit the Kingdom; and *Henry Piercy*, Earl
of *Northumberland*, was committed to the *Tower*, where
he shot himself. Another Plot was discovered to have
been framed by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the
Duke of *Guise*, to invade *England*; whereupon, the
Earl of *Leicester* got a general Association of Men, of
all Ranks and Conditions, to be formed in *England*,
who bound themselves by Oath to prosecute to Death
those that should attempt any Thing against their Queen.
William Parry, a Member of the House of Commons,
was soon after executed, upon his own Confession, for
a Design to kill the Queen, as she rode abroad to take
the Air: Which occasioned the Parliament to take
extraordinary Care of the Safety of her Person; for
they confirmed the general Association; and enacted,
that the Person for whom, or by whom, any Attempt
should be made to raise a Rebellion in the Kingdom,
should be utterly incapable of succeeding to the Crown,
and prosecuted to Death if declared guilty by twenty-
four Commissioners, appointed to make such Inquiries:
Which was directly aimed at the Queen of *Scotland*;
nor had she Prudence enough to avoid the Snare, though
she knew it was laid for her.

A. D. *ELIZABETH* supplied the Prince of *Conde*, who
1585. was at the Head of the *French Huguenots*, with Money
to

to maintain the War; and lent him ten Ships, with A. D. which he raised the Siege of *Rochelle*. In the mean ^{1585.} Time, the Affairs of the United Provinces were in so dangerous a Situation, that the States could no longer hope to oppose the King of *Spain*, unless they were strongly assisted: On which Account they applied to the Queen of *England*, who agreed to send them 6000 Men, to be commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*: But, for Security of being repaid the Money for maintaining these Troops, the States agreed that *Flushing* and *Rammekins* in *Zealand*, with the *Briel* in *Holland*, should be delivered into her Hands, till the Repayment was made. The States, under Colour of expressing their Gratitude to *Elizabeth*, and to engage her farther than she intended, received her Favourite, the Earl of *Leicester*, as a Guardian Angel, and invested him with almost an absolute Power. *Elizabeth* also sent a strong Fleet, commanded by Sir *Francis Drake*, to invade the *Spanish* Possessions in *America*, where he became Master of the Capital of *Hispaniola*, took *Carthagena*, and some other Places, with a great Booty; after which, his Fleet was dispersed by a Storm, and he returned to *England* with the Loss of 700 Men.

THE Queen thought that the *Dutch* had invested the A. D. Earl of *Leicester* with too much Power; who performed ^{1586.} no great Exploits in the Field, where the brave and the learned, the glorious and ingenious, Sir *Philip Sidney*, was mortally wounded; being so far the most accomplished Gentleman of his Age, and greatest Ornament of his Country, that he refused to be King of *Poland*, in Compliment to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might live a Subject of *England*. He was the first who ennobled the Language of that Age, by a happy Concourse of Taste and Genius. His Life was universally admired; and his Death was universally lamented, not only by his Queen, and his Countrymen, but by all *Europe*.

A TREATY of Alliance, and stricter Amity, was entered into, between Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*, for supporting the Protestant Religion in both their

A. D. Kingdoms: But, shortly after the Conclusion of this 3586 League, a Conspiracy was discovered in England, which cost the Queen of Scotland her Life, and was one of the most important Events during the Reign of Elizabeth.

THE English Ministry thought that nothing but the Death of Mary could break the Measures of her Friends, and put an End to the Plots which were daily framing on her Account: But it was Mary's own Friends that occasioned her Misfortune, by serving her too zealously; or rather by making her their Instrument, for executing their grand Projects against the Protestant Religion: Besides, Mary was so imprudent, as, being a Prisoner, to confound two Things, which could well be distinguished and separated; that is, her Liberty, and her Title to the Crown of England: For she thereby gave Elizabeth Occasion to confound them too, and to ruin her, for the Preservation of her own Life and Crown.

THE Queen of Scotland had now been a Prisoner eighteen Years in England, where Queen Elizabeth had sat upon the Throne twenty-eight Years; when the latter embraced an Opportunity, which she had long wanted, of putting the former out of the Way, and preventing all future Jealousies of her Designs upon England. Two Priests of the Name of Gifford, and one named Hodgson, had instilled the Notioh into one Savage, that it would be a meritorious Act to kill Elizabeth, and had caused him to vow it during the Easter Holidays. Ballard, another Priest, and Anthony Babington, a young Gentleman, were also concerned in the Plot, which was to restore the Catholic Religion in England, to make away with Elizabeth, and put Mary on the English Throne. Mary was now committed to the Custody of Sir Amias Powlet, and Sir Drus Drury; while Babington got five other Conspirators to assist Savage in assassinating Elizabeth. But the Vigilance of Secretary Walsingham discovered all the Plot; and the Conspirators were seized, tried, condemned, and fourteen of them executed. The Queen of Scotland was informed of this Conspiracy, as she had taken Horse to

to ride a Hunting, when all her Papers were seized, A. D. together with her two Secretaries, *Nayre* and *Curl*; be-^{1586.} cause it was resolved to prove her guilty, as a Party in this Conspiracy, and to put her to Death.

At last, the Resolution being taken of trying and con- A. D. demning Queen *Mary*, it was debated on which Statute ^{1587.} she should be proceeded against; but there was only one that could serve for that Purpose, which was the Act passed last Year, and concerned her in particular. By Virtue of this Act, Queen *Elizabeth* appointed forty-two Commissioners of the principal Nobility, with five Judges, to try Queen *Mary*; of whom thirty-six met, on the 11th of October, at *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where *Mary* was then in Custody, who said, "It was very strange the Queen of *England* should consider her as a Subject, and command her to submit to a Tryal." She disputed the Authority of the Judges; but at last was prevailed on to plead. She was also charged, by the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, with having Intentions to send the King her Son into *Spain*, and resign to *Philip* her Right to the Crown of *England*: But, she said, all this amounted to no Proof of her having consented to the Project of killing the Queen. After a long Examination, she required to be heard in full Parliament, or before the Queen and Council: Upon which the Court adjourned till the 25th of October to the Star-Chamber at *Westminster*.

THE Point was not so much to punish *Mary* for her Part in the Plot, as to satisfy the Public she was concerned in it, that her Condemnation might be thought the less strange, or rather absolutely necessary for the Safety of *England*. The Commissioners accordingly met in the Star-Chamber, and pronounced Sentence, that *Mary* had broken the Statute passed the last Year: But the whole Sentence was not published: Nor is it known whether the Commissioners expressly condemned *Mary* to die; or whether, after the Judgment of the Fact, they left it to the Laws and their Queen, to decide what Punishment the Crime deserved. However, the Parliament confirmed the Sentence, and petitioned

A. D. the Queen to put it into Execution ; who seemed to shew that she was inclined to Mercy, both by the Answer she made to their Petition, and in a Speech she made to both Houses. She magnified the Care she had taken, not to suffer the Dignity of *Mary* to be debased by trying her like a common Person : And said, that she had a most inward feeling of Sorrow, that she, who had in her Time pardoned so many Rebels, winked at so many Treasons, and passed over them in Silence, must now seem to shew Cruelty upon so great a Princeſs.

WHEN *Mary* was informed of her Sentence, by Lord *Burgh*, she said, with some Emotion, “ It is no Wonder if the *English*, who have often put their own Sovereigns to Death, should treat in the same Manner, a Princeſs sprung from the Blood of their Kings.” But her own Grandſon, when he was upon the *English* Throne, ſuffered the same Fate Sixty-two Years after the Execution of his Grandmother. The Queen of *England* ſoon made her Sentence public to her People : While the unhappy Queen of *Scotland* only interceeded for ſome Favours concerning her Death, Burial, and Servants ; telling *Elizabeth*, ſhe rejoiced that the Sentence of her Death was to put a Period to the Miseries of her Life. However, her Son implored Mercy for his Mother ; and *Henry the Third of France* intreated *Elizabeth* to ſpare the unfortunate Queen : But in vain, for *Elizabeth* told *Pompon de Believre*, that “ As the Heavens did not contain two Suns ; ſo neither could *England* endure two Queens, or two Religions.” The Courtiers of *Elizabeth* invented many Lies to accelerate the Fate of *Mary*, which attracted the Eyes of all *Europe* : Several Invasions were talked of from *France* and *Spain* ; a Report was ſpread of new Conſpiracies : And *l'Aubespine*, the *French* Ambaſſador, was charged of being concerned in a Plot to ſave *Mary*. The People of *England* then publickly ſaid, their Queen could never be ſafe, while *Mary* was alive. When the People were in this Mind, *Elizabeth* ſeemed to be extremely uneasy, and more ſo when the Warrant was made out by *Davison* for the Execution

Execution of *Mary*. But this was all Dissimulation, for A. D. the Purpose of cutting off *Mary* was so firmly rooted in 1586. the Soul of *Elizabeth*, that she was determined to accept of no Equivalent for her Blood: Which is plain, by her rejecting the Proposal made by the *Scotch Ambassador*, which was, that *James* should give to *Elizabeth* the Chief of the *Scotch* Nobility, as Hostages, that no Attempt should be made to her Prejudice by *Mary*, provided *Elizabeth* would spare her Life, or send her into *Scotland*.

THE fatal Warrant was delivered to *Beal*, who was charged with providing proper Executioners; and the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, and *Cumberland*, were appointed to see the Execution performed; who, in the Evening of the 6th of *February*, intimated to the unhappy *Queen*, that she must die on the 8th following. She received this, dreadful News with great Calmness and Resignation. She earnestly desired the Comfort of her Confessor; which was barbarously denied her; and *Kent* indecently said, "Madam, your Life is the Death of our Religion, and your Death will be its Life:" Upon which, she observed, that the Truth had at last broke from the Earl, who confessed, that Religion was the Cause of her Death, though she had been sentenced for Treason. She settled her worldly Affairs with great Composure, and spent the rest of her Time in the most fervent Devotion, till the Sheriff came in the Morning of the 8th, to tell her every Thing was ready; "and so am I," said she, with great Clearfulness. She behaved with wonderful Magnanimity, and there appeared a divine Composure in all her Behaviour, as she was led to the Hall where the Scaffold was erected. She was attended by the four Lords, and some of her own Domestics, particularly her faithful Servant, *Melvil*, whom she charged with her dying Words to her Son; ordering *Melvil* to tell him, "That she prayed him to serve God, to defend the Catholic Church, to govern his Kingdom in Peace, and never to put himself in the Power of another as she had done. Certify him, said she, that I have done nothing prejudicial to the Crown

150 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. of Scotland; and will him to keep Friendship with the
1656. Queen of England." Fletcher, the Dean of Peterborough, attended at the Place of Execution, and exhorted her to change her Religion, which interrupted her Devotion, as she was determined to die in the Faith she had lived. While the Dean was too officiously troubling her, she prayed aloud in *Latin*; and, when he had done, she most devoutly prayed in the *English Tongue*, for the Church, her Son, and Queen *Elizabeth*. She then most affectingly prepared herself for the fatal Stroke; and tenderly embraced her Servants as they were undressing her. Her Gown and Doublet were taken off, when she remained with only a Shift covering the upper Part of her Body: A Linnen Handkerchief was bound over her Eyes, and Gloves drawn upon her Arms: She then intrepidly laid her Head upon the Block, where the Executioner awkwardly severed it from her Body at two Strokes of the Axe. Nothing but Necessity could have occasioned this Cruelty: But how melancholy is the Remembrance, that a Queen, admired for the Qualities of her Mind, and adored for the Beauty of her Person, should be ignominiously executed on a Scaffold for an uncorroborated Charge of Treason, when she ought to have sat on the Throne of England?

THIS was the fatal End of *Mary Stewart*, Queen of Scotland by Birth, of *France* by Marriage, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*. The most beautiful Woman of the Age; and, next to *Elizabeth*, the most accomplished: The most fortunate at one Time, and the most miserable at another. She had lived to the 46th Year of her Age, and had been 18 Years a Prisoner in *England*. It has been observed, "that she was born, as it were, from the Funeral of her Father; when an Infant she was an Exile; she was a Wife without Joy; a Widow without Liberty; a Queen without Power; a Prisoner without Guilt; accused without Evidence; and murdered without Proof."

MARY was good, as well as great: But her Character has been very loosely handled; for *Buchanan* was

was her professed Enemy ; *Thuanus* was too credulous A. D. to any Aspersions thrown against her ; *Spotswood* was too 1555. cold in her Vindication ; *Melvil* too remiss in his Information ; and *Camden* too cautious in her Defence. *Bothwel*, who died in 1576, on his Death-Bed, cleared *Mary* in the most solemn Terms of all Consciousness of the Murder of *Darnley* ; and he confessed, that he had used some execrable Arts to impress the Queen with Love towards his Person. *Morton*, at his Execution, dropt not the least Hint as if *Mary* had been either conscious, or accessory to that Murder : Nor is it to be credited that she was privy to so horrid a Tragedy.

SHE was buried in a magnificent Manner, in the Cathedral of *Peterborough*, on the 1st of *August*, where she lay till 1612, when her Son removed her Corps into the South Side of King *Henry the Seventh's* Chapel at *Westminster*, where a stately Monument was erected to her Memory, and an elegant Epitaph wrote in her Vindication.

THE political Motives of *Elizabeth*, which urged her to take away the Life of *Mary*, may be said to be good and necessary : But it frequently happens that Policy is repugnant to Justice and Equity ; upon which Occasion the Enemies of *Elizabeth* have triumphed, who would have murdered her to set *Mary* on the Throne of *England*. Though, if it was allowed, by the Laws of Religion and Justice, to take away the Life of *Elizabeth*, to put *Mary* on the Throne, and restore the Catholic Religion in *England* ; was it less allowable for the *English* to put *Mary* to Death, for the Preservation of their Queen and their Religion from the Destruction with which they were continually threatened ? But these Maxims are commendable in no Party.

WHEN *Elizabeth* heard of the Death of *Mary*, she affected to shew the utmost Concern and Sorrow ; openly declaring, that the Execution was done against her Intention, and without her Orders. She apologized to the King of *Scotland* on this Account, and laid the whole Charge against Secretary *Davison*, who had made out the Warrant ; and, as she said, put it in Execution

A. D. ecution without her Knowledge. *James* expressed the 1586. highest Resentment, and was not only advised to throw himself upon the *Roman Catholic* Princes of *Europe*, but even to declare himself of that Religion: Which gave *Elizabeth* the greatest Inquietudes, as the Papists, all over *Europe*, now treated her as an *Usurper*: Therefore, she threw the Odium upon *Davison*, and discarded him from her Service; though she acknowledged him to be the best Statesman in her Dominions. The Punishment of *Davison* stifled the Resentment of the *Scotch* Monarch, to whom *Elizabeth* also promised to leave the Crown of *England*: But she had now the most imminent Danger to apprehend from *Spain*.

GREAT Armaments were preparing by the King of *Spain*, and *Walsingham* obtained Intelligence that they were intended against *England*: Upon which account, *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Francis Drake* to burn all the *Spanish* Ships he could meet on the Coast of *Spain*; who destroyed a great Number of Vessels: While Admiral *Carvendish* was sent to the *South-Sea*, where he plundered the Coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*.

A. D. THE Queen of *Scotland* had been persuaded to convey to *Philip the Second of Spain* her Right to *England*; 1588. as being the only Means to restore the Catholic Religion in that Kingdom. That Prince was descended from the two Daughters of *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son of *Edward the Third*; and, upon this Descent, supported by the Queen of *Scotland*'s Conveyance and Will, he projected the Conquest of *England*: Especially, as, according to the Maxim of the Church of *Rome*, a Protestant Princess was unworthy and incapable of enjoying a Crown. Pope *Sixtus the Fifth* thundered out a Bull against *Elizabeth*, absolving her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and giving her Kingdoms to the first that should seize them: While the *Spanish* Monarch prepared a fleet called *The Invincible Armada*, which assembled at the *Groyne*.

THE *Spanish Armada* consisted of 132 Ships, of 57,868 ton, and 2630 Guns; having on board 19,295 Soldiers, 8450 Mariners, and 2088 Slaves; besides 20 Caravels

Caravels for the Service of the Army, and 10 Salves A. D. with 6 Oars apiece: But other Accounts have greatly magnified this Calculation; and it is certain, that there never was any Fleet equal to it in modern Times. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia* was appointed Admiral of the whole; having *Don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo* to serve under him, who was an experienced naval Commander. The Fleet set sail on the 12th of *July*, and arrived within Sight of *England* on the 19th, where *Elizabeth* had made the best Preparations for repelling the Danger; While the *Spanish* General expected to be joined by the Prince of *Parma*, with 30,000 Men from the *Netherlands*.

ENGLAND was not now as at the Time of the *Norman* Invasion; for the Improvement of Commerce, Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures, had diffused such a Spirit of national Freedom thro' all Sorts of People, that the Kingdom was not to be won by a few great Lords. The Queen knew that the *Spaniards* intended to land at the Mouth of the *Thames*, and ordered 20,000 Men to be posted along the Coast. The Militia was raised all over the Kingdom, and all the Sea-Ports were fortified. A Camp was formed at *Tilbury* in *Essex*, consisting of 22,000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*, who acted as Lieutenant-General. Another Camp was formed nearer *London*, containing 34,000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, under Lord *Hunsdon*: And all the principal Nobility attended the Generals. But *Elizabeth* chiefly depended on her Navy, at the Head of which she had placed *Charles Lord Howard of Effingham*; who had under him the Admirals, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher*, three of the best Sea Officers then in the World.

THE Hour which *Elizabeth* had ever dreaded was at length come: Her Crown lay at stake, and she was to defend it without the Assistance of any Ally. She was fearful the King of *Scotland* would revenge his Mother's Death by assisting the *Spaniards*: She was not easy with respect to *Ireland*: And apprehended some Danger from

A. D. the Catholics in *England*: But she looked to every ^{1588.} Thing with such a wonderful Prudence, and Presence of Mind, that no Injury came from any of those Quarters. She went in Person to her Camp at *Tilbury*, where she made a very animating Speech to her Army; telling them how much she depended upon their Loyalty, and that she was resolved, in the Midst and Heat of the Battle, to live or die among them all. She might have safely depended upon her Army, as they were not mercenary Soldiers, but Men of such Property, that it was said, there was one *Kentish* Gentleman who had a Band of 150 Footmen, which were worth in Goods 150,000 £. Sterling, besides their Lands. *England* might have lost 500,000 Men, and yet have remained a formidable Nation: So that the Court of *Spain* was greatly mistaken at the Account it had received of the State of *England*, which had been represented as poor, weak, and miserable: For even the Catholics expressed great Loyalty to the Queen, who was advised to send them out of the Kingdom; but she contented herself with confining the Heads of them in the Island of *Ely*.

WHILE *Elizabeth* saw herself surrounded with her Troops sufficient for the inland Security of her Kingdom, her naval Force gained unparalleled Victories. The Lord-Admiral of *England* was at *Plymouth*, when the *Spanish* Fleet arrived off the *English* Coast: But he immediately put to Sea, and came up with the *Spaniards* in the *Channel*, on the 21st of *July*; when both Fleets formed the Line of Battle; and, after a bloody Engagement, the *English* Admiral convinced his Seamen, that the dreadful Apprehensions they entertained of the large *Spanish* Vessels were ridiculous; as the Smallness of the *English* Ships gave them much better Opportunities of advancing, charging, and retreating. The Action was not renewed 'till the 23d, when a sharp Engagement ensued off *Portland*, wherein the *Spaniards* obtained no Advantage from their Superiority of Ships. A running Fight was continued on the 24th: And, on the 25th, another terrible Encounter happened off the Isle of *Wight*; after which the *Spaniards* bore

bore away for the Coast of *Flanders*, with Hopes of A. D. being joined by the Duke of *Parma*, who was prevented from putting to Sea, by a Squadron of *English* and *Dutch* Ships, commanded by Lord *Henry Seymour* and Sir *William Winter*, which blocked up the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*. The *Spanish* Fleet anchored off *Calais* on the 27th in the Evening; being closely followed by the Fleet, which was now joined by Lord *Henry Seymour*, when it consisted of 140 Sail; though there were only 20 capital Ships. In the Night of the 28th, the *English* Admiral sent 8 Fireships among the *Spanish* Fleet; which struck them with such a Terror, that they instantly cut their Cables, and put to Sea in the greatest Confusion to avoid the impending Danger. The *English* pursued, and took some of them, driving the rest upon the dangerous Coast of *Zealand*, from whence they happily escaped by the Wind chopping about. The *Spaniards* then proceeded on their return Home, by sailing round *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in which Attempt they lost several of their Ships, as they were pursued beyond the *Firth of Edinburgh*; suffered greatly by Shipwreck on the Coast of *Ireland*; and were about seven Weeks at Sea before they arrived at *Spain*.

UPON the Defeat of this formidable Fleet, *England* was filled with universal Joy; Cities, Towns, Villages, and Churches, ringing with the Shouts and Songs of Victory. The *Spaniards* had 15 great Ships taken and destroyed, with the Loss of 4791 men, during the Engagement in the *Channel*: And they lost 17 large Ships, with 5394 Men, on the Coast of *Ireland*: Being in all 32 capital Ships, and 10,185 Men: Though some Accounts say, they lost 81 Vessels large and small, with 13,500 Men. Thus all the Hopes which the *Spanish* Monarch entertained of procuring the Crown of *England*, entirely vanished: The Land continued to be filled with its ancient Inhabitants, and to preserve its ancient Laws; while it looked more glorious under its new Religion, which all the Papal Spirit of *Pius the Fifth* was not able to shake, much less to overthrow.

A. D. 1588. THE Earl of *Leicester* was now more in Favour with the Queen than ever; and the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh* was overshadowed by his Power: But *Leicester* died on the 4th of *September*, and his Death drew Tears from the Queen; though he was a Man little deserving the Honours she had conferred upon him, if most of the Historians are to be credited; and, after his Death, there was Unanimity in the Council.

A. D. 1589. *ELIZABETH* had now no Danger to apprehend from any Quarter; and was determined to shew the *Spaniards*, that the *English* could attack, as well as defend. *Antonio*, the exiled King of *Portugal*, had solicited *Elizabeth* to assist him in regaining his Crown from the King of *Spain*; and she sent a Fleet, consisting of 100 Sail, with 12,000 Soldiers, and 1500 Sailors, to attack the *Spanish* Dominions. These Forces were commanded by Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Norris*, whose Designs were to exert themselves chiefly against *Portugal*: But they plundered the *Groyne* in their Way, and killed 3000 *Spaniards*; after which, they were joined by the Earl of *Essex*, who seemed to have succeeded *Leicester* in the Favour of the Queen, by whom he was considered as a Nobleman born to adorn and improve the Glories of the *English* Name and Nation, as he had an early and violent Passion for military Glory, which had conspicuously distinguished him in the *Netherlands*,

THE *English* landed in *Portugal*, and took *Peniche*; after which, they invested *Lisbon*; but retired without besieging it: Though they seized 60 Ships in the *Tagus*, and destroyed *Vigo* in their return to *England*. They lost 6000 Men in the Expedition: But that Loss was amply recompensed by the Booty they obtained, and the Services they performed.

THE intestine Troubles of *France* were very great; for *Henry the Third* had caused the Duke of *Guise* to be stabbed; after which he was assassinated himself by *James Clements*, a *Jacobine* Monk, and was succeeded by the King of *Navarre*, Head of the House of *Bourbon*, who assumed the Name of *Henry the Fourth*. This Prince

Prince was opposed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and was A. D. assisted by the Queen of *England* with 4000 Men, com-¹⁵⁸⁹, manded by Lord *Willoughby*: But he sent them Home, after they had vainly attempted to reduce *Paris*; and *Elizabeth* still continued his Protectress.

ELIZABETH always kept a good Fleet ready to A. D. put to Sea, for fear *Philip* should attempt another Inva-¹⁵⁹⁰ sion: But her Oeconomy was so great, that, with the usual Revenues of the Crown, she found Means to supply the Expence of her Household, maintain a Fleet, pay the public Debts, and assist her Neighbours in their Distress; which none of her Predecessors had ever done. Nothing remarkable happened this Year in *England*, except the Death of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State; who lived a faithful Servant to his Queen, and died so poor that he was buried privately to save Charges.

THE Lord *Thomas Howard* was sent with six Ships to intercept the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet from *America*: But was attacked in the *Azores* Islands by 53 *Spanish* Ships, commanded by Don *Alphonso Bassano*, who took the *Defiance*, commanded by Sir *Richard Greenville*: Tho' not till that brave Officer had fought his Ship to the Water's Edge, and was mortally wounded.

ELIZABETH sent 6000 Men, under the Earl of A. D. *Essex*, to assist the *French* Monarch, who undertook the ¹⁵⁹¹ Siege of *Roan*, where the *English* General won great Reputation: But the Duke of *Parma* raised the Siege.

HOWEVER, *Elizabeth* continued to assist *Henry the Fourth*, till he put his Conscience in the Balance with his Crown, and gave it for the latter, by turning *Roman Catholic*: After which *Elizabeth* grew cool to his Interest. The *Spaniards* in vain incited the King of *Scotland* to disturb the Repose of *England*: But they themselves made a Descent in *Cornwall*, with four Gallies, and burnt some Villages. They also hired *Rodorigo Lopez*, a *Jew*, and Physician to the Queen, with some others, to poison, or assassinate her: But the Conspirators were discovered and executed; as also were *Hacket*, and some other Enthusiasts, for writing and publishing seditious

A. D. Setthies Books. Nothing else material happened for some Time to the English Affairs; except the Loss of some eminent Seamen: For Sir Martin Frobisher was mortally wounded at the Siege of Cruden in Bretagne in 1594: and Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins both died in a fruitless Expedition against the Spaniards in America, in 1595: While Sir Walter Raleigh made a second Expedition there, and made a full Discovery of Virginia.

A. D. The Queen had Intelligence, that the King of Spain was again preparing to invade England: Upon which she was determined to prevent him, and fitted out a Fleet of 150 Sail, 17 of which were capital Ships, with 22 Dutch Ships, having on board 6800 Sailors and Soldiers; commanded by the Lord Admiral Howard and the Earl of Essex; who had under them Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, and other experienced Officers. They sailed from Plymouth the Beginning of June, and arrived at Cadiz on the 20th, which they took without much Opposition. The Spanish Fleet which lay in the Harbour was defeated by Raleigh, who took four Ships, and the rest were destroyed by the Spanish Admiral, after the Offer he had made of two Millions of Ducats for their Ransom was rejected: For it consisted of 13 Men of War, 11 Ships freighted for the Indies, and 33 others. The Stores prepared for the intended Expedition against England were all seized, and a rich Plunder was made in the Town; after which it was burnt to the Ground; and the English estimated the Loss of the Spaniards at 20 Millions of Ducats, which was a Sum equivalent to 20 Millions sterl^{ing} at this Time. The English burnt some Villages along the Coast, and returned to England with a prodigious Booty: Though the Earl of Essex, in Conformity to their Instructions, would have had the Fleet go in Search of the Spanish Ships from both the Indies.

This was a preventive War devised by the Lord Admiral, and improved by the Earl of Essex, who acted with Unanimity for the Glory of their Sovereign, and their own Honours: Though such a divided Command

is seldom attended with Success. It was on this Oc-^{A. D.}
cation, that we meet with the first regular Sets of Sig-^{1595.}
nals and Orders to the Commanders of the *English* Fleet ;
and an impenetrable Secrecy was observed, which is the
very Life of all naval Expeditions. Upon the Return
of *Essex* to *England*, he was disappointed, when he saw
Elizabeth reward others with Honours, and himself
with Praises : For she gave Riches to *Raleigh*, Titles to
the Lord-Admiral, and a Command to *Vert*. The
Earl of *Essex* was the Ornament of his Country, the
Favourite of his Queen, and the Idol of the People.
His Veins were filled with the Royal Blood, and his
Spirit was equal to that of the greatest *Greek* or *Roman*,
on whose most graceful Models he had formed his Ideas.
He had slept a Scholar into the Camp, and a Soldier
into the Court : But his Love of Popularity, and his
Hatred to *Burke*, occasioned his Destruction.

The great Preparations continued to be made in A. D.
Spain, renewed the Vigilance of *Elizabeth*, who fitted ¹⁵⁹⁷
out another Fleet, consisting of 122 Ships, with 5000
Land Forces on Board ; commanded by the Earl of
Essex, who had under him the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and
Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The true Destination was to *Ferol*
and the *Greyn*, where the *English* hoped to surprize the
Spanish Fleet in the Harbours, and then proceed to the
Azores : But the Badness of the Weather prevented *Es-*
sex from carrying the Scheme into Execution, who was
obliged to confine himself only to an Attempt upon the
Azores, where he reduced *Fayal* and *Graciosa* : After
which, the Disputes between him and *Raleigh* obliged
them to return to *England*.

ALL the crowned Heads in *Europe* seem at this Time
to have been in Combination against the Trade of *Eng-*
land, which was very extensive, and protected with a
very high Hand by *Elizabeth*. The *Danes* and the *Polis*
complained that the *English* had interrupted their Com-
merce with *Spain* : But *Elizabeth* vindicated herself by
the Law of Nations. The King of *Scotland* gave the
Queen some Uneasiness ; but they soon came to a Re-
conciliation ;

A. D. 1597. *Conciliation* ; for, as *Elizabeth* was advancing in Years, *James* was advancing in his Hopes to her Succession.

A. D. 1598. *A Peace* was concluded between *France* and *Spain*, without the Knowledge of *Elizabeth*, who was greatly exasperated with *Henry*, and continued the War against *Philip*, to protect the *Dutch*, who entered into a Treaty of Alliance with her for that Purpose : But the King of *Spain*, died in *September*, in the 72d Year of his Age, being devoured by Lice, swarming from Ulcers : after expending fye thousand five hundred and forty Millions of *Crowns* of *Gold*, or about twelve hundred and fifty Millions of *Pounds Sterling*, in his ambitious Projects, which allayed the *Uneasiness* of *Elizabeth*, for the *Loss* of her Prime Minister *Burleigh*, who died the 2d of *August*, in the 76th Year of his Age, and was succeeded by *Lord Buckhurst* in his Office of *Treasurer*. In *America* the *Earl of Cumberland*, with a Squadron fitted out by himself, took *Porto Rico* from the *Spaniards*, and suspend-ed their Trade in *Europe*, during the Course of this Year.

A. D. 1599. The *Earl of Essex* was daily declining in the Favour of the Queen, who discovered an Inclination to send *Sir William Knowles* to settle Affairs in *Ireland*, which *Essex* opposed with such an Air of Contempt, as provoked the Queen to give him a Box on the Ear. The *Earl* immediately laid his Hand on his *Sword*, and, being prevented from drawing it by the *Lord-Admiral*, swore, " he would not put up such an Indignity ; nor would he have taken it from *Henry the Eighth* himself, was he alive ; " and instantly retired from Court. But he was readmitted to Favour, only to make his Destruction the surer.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were in a dangerous Situation, by the Rebellion of the *Earl of Tyrone*, who was the great Tool of *Spain*, by whose Assistance the *Irish* People imagined they should throw off their Allegiance from *England*. *Tyrone* had usurped the Title of *O-Neal*, or *Sovereign of Ireland*, vacant by the Death of *Turlough Leinigh*, and which it was High Treason to assume. He had defeated several Parties of *English*, had received Supplies from *Spain* and *Scotland*, assumed the Dignity

ity of a King, and *Elizabeth* was determined to chastise *Ireland* for his Insolence. She, therefore, appointed the Earl ¹⁵⁹⁹ of *Essex* Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, with an unlimited Commission, which placed him at the Head of an Army of 20,000 Men, raised on this Occasion, all devoted to his Service; and he was also created Earl-Marshal of *England*.

THE Earl of *Essex* arrived in *Ireland* in *March*, and made the Earl of *Southampton* his Lieutenant-General, in express Contradiction to his Orders. He informed the Queen, " that the *Irish* had no other End but to shake off the Yoke of Obedience, and root out all Remembrance of the *English* Nation in that Kingdom: As also that the *Irish* Nobility had an especial Quarrel against the *English* Government, because it limited, and tied them, who had ever been, and ever would be, as absolute Tyrants as any under the Sun." *Essex* found he had Enemies who spoke many disadvantageous Things of him to the Queen, which gave him such Inquietude, that he grew inactive, and suffered the Rebels to gain several Advantages. He sollicited in vain to return to *England*; and, having concluded a Truce with *Tyrone*, he hastily left *Ireland*, and threw himself at the Feet of *Elizabeth*, who then resided at *Nonsuch*. The Queen was disconcerted at the sudden Appearance of a Man, whom she loved, feared, and hated: She desired him to retire to his Apartment; and he was there put under Arrest. All *England* was alarmed at this Proceeding; while all *Ireland* was again disturbed by *Tyrone*; which more than ever exasperated *Elizabeth* against *Essex*, whom she got censured in the Star-Chamber, for neglecting his Duty in that Kingdom.

PHILIP the Third of *Spain* succeeded his Father A. D. *Philip* the Second, and sent Assistance to *Tyrone* in *Ireland* ¹⁶⁰⁰. But Lord *Mountjoy*, the new Lord-Deputy, was more successful than *Essex*, who was brought to answer for his Misconduct before the Commissioners appointed by the Queen. They censured him most for having an Interview with *Tyrone*, and suspended him from all his Places; which made him so desperate, that he intended

A. D. intended to attempt an Alteration in the Government, 1600. in which he was seconded by his Followers, who were numerous and powerful. They dropt their Design of surprising the Court; and it was resolved, that *Essex* should make Trial of his Friends in the City. He confined the Privy-Counsellors that were sent to him by the Queen; and, attended by 200 ill-armed Followers, rushed from *Essex-House* into the Street, calling out, "For the Queen, for the Queen! my Life is in Danger." He was pitied by all the Citizens; but abhored by none; and now proved the Vanity of popular Applause: For he went as far as *Fenchurch-street*, and then returned back to his House by Water, as the City was barricaded to take him Prisoner. *Essex* was attended by his Friends the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, with some others of Rank; who were all obliged to surrender themselves Prisoners to the Lord-Admiral; when the Principal of them were sent to the *Tower*, and the rest to other Prisons.

A. D. On the 19th of February, the Earls of *Essex* and 1601. *Southampton* were brought to Trial before twenty-six of their Peers, when they were convicted of Overt-Acts of Treason. *Essex* was beheaded, on the 25th, in the *Tower Court-Yard*, in the Presence of several Noblemen, and some Aldermen; before whom his Behaviour was noble and penitent: He had a bungling Executioner, and died on the Scaffold in the 35th Year of his Age, when he was worthy of wearing a Crown. He was descended from the royal House of *Scotland*; and from that of *England* by his Great-Grandmother, who numbered among her Ancestors *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, and *Thomas of Woodstock*, both Sons of *Edward the Third*, from whence it was insinuated, that, after the Death of the Queen, it would be better to place him on the Throne than a foreign Prince. This Nobleman was an elegant Scholar, a fine Gentleman, and a brave Soldier; but a bad Courtier, as he was above Diffimulation. *Elizabeth* had a great Regard for him, on Account of his Birth and Abilities: Yet it is not probable she entertained those Sentiments for him, which

which have been attributed to her by the Fiction of A. D. Poetry and Romances: Nor is the Account of the ^{1602.} Things mentioned by *Osborn*, to be entirely credited: However, she greatly lamented the Death of so illustrious a Nobleman, which was precipitated by the *Cecils* and *Sir Walter Raleigh*.

THE Earl of Southampton and others were pardoned: But *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Charles Danvers*, and three others, were executed.

THE Commons complained of several Monopolies granted by the Queen, who revoked most of them rather than disoblige her Subjects.

WHILE these Troubles happened to *Elizabeth* at Home, she assisted her Allies Abroad, and fitted many armed Ships to cruise upon the *Spaniards*, who besieged *Ostend*, which was so gallantly defended by the *English* under *Sir Francis Vere*, that the Place sustained one of the most vigorous Sieges that ever was heard of in History, and held out for upwards of three Years and three Months.

THE *Irish* Rebels received an Aid from *Spain*: But A. D. the Earl of *Tyrone* was defeated, and the *Spanish* General ^{1602.} obliged to return Home; after which *Tyrone* submitted and surrendered himself to the Lord-Deputy. *Sir William Monson* and *Sir Richard Leveson* were sent with a Squadron against the *Spaniards*, and took a *Carac* of 1600 Tons, valued at a Million of Crowns. And, this Year, the *Jesuits* were banished *England* by Proclamation, forbidding them ever to return on Pain of Death.

THE Remembrance of her lamented *Essex* drove *Elizabeth* almost to Distraction, who, as she advanced in ^{1603.} Years, perceived her Courtiers pay their Addresses to the King of *Scotland* as the Rising Sun. This threw her into a Melancholy; which occasioned her Death on the 24th of *March*, in the Seventieth Year of her Age, and the 45th of her Reign; soon after she had appointed the King of *Scotland* her Successor. She died at *Richmond*, and was buried in *Henry the 7th's Chapel* at *Westminster*.

¶

Pope Sixtus the Fifth used to speak of Queen Elizabeth, and the King of Navarre, as the only Princes that understood what it was to govern; and profanely wished, he might enjoy her but one Night, saying, they would beget a new *Alexander the Great* between them. The Name of Elizabeth is still of blessed Memory with the English, at this Time, when Flattery cannot be supposed to have any Share in their Veneration. She had great Sense and Learning; with a Judgment naturally sound and solid. Her Policy was to make herself beloved by her People, to be frugal of her Treasures, and to cherish Dissention among her Neighbours. She protected the *Huguenots* of *France*, the *Revolters* in the *Netherlands*, and the *Reformers* in *Scotland*; whereby she saved the *French* Monarch, humbled the Pride of the *Spanish* King, and ruined the Queen of *Scotland*. The *Turks*, the *Poles*, the *Swedes*, with many other People, appealed to her Throne, as the great Tribunal of Justice upon Earth. Barbarians revered her; for the Emperors of *Moscow* and *Morocco* shewed her the utmost Respect, and courted her Favour. However, it must be owned, that, in beheading the Queen of *Scotland*, she sacrificed Equity, Justice, and perhaps her own Conscience, to her Safety: Though, in Vindication of her, it has been said, that Rules of Policy and Self-Preservation, must overcome all Principles of Good-Nature, or Honour: And the *French* Writers, particularly *Mezeray*, give a more favourable Account of this Affair than the *English* Historians. *Bossac*, in one of his Letters to *Cecil*, says of *Elizabeth*, "He that excommunicated her, spoke of her with Honour." The Duke of *Guise*, her professed Enemy, said, "She was the most glorious and happy Woman, that ever swayed a Sceptre." And *Henry the Fourth of France*, in a Letter to *Monier de Rosny*, commends her with an implicit Sort of Admiration. She has been taxed with Disimulation and Avarice; but very unjustly; and much more so has her Chastity been slandered. That Kingdom which she found enfeebled by War, cramp't by Superstition, and impoverished by want of proper Encouragement

agement to the rising Arts and increasing Manufactures, she left happy in Peace, established in true Religion, and enriched with Plenty at Home; as also ennobled with Reputation Abroad.

HER Stature was somewhat tall: Her Limbs strong, and her Joints well compacted. Her Hair was more reddish than yellow, and her Complexion fair. Her Voice was loud and shrill: She sung gracefully, and played well upon several musical Instruments. She understood the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and Dutch Languages: The four former of which she spoke with great Fluency, and encouraged them at her Court, whereby her Courtiers, such as Sir Philip Sydney, Hatton, Burleigh, Essex, and Southampton, revived the Augustan Age; by each shewing himself a *Mæcenas* either to Spenser, Shakespear, or Johnson, who enriched their native Tongue with all the Elegance of Poetry; while Raleigh shewed himself an excellent Historian, and Bacon the best of Philosophers.

In this Reign, the *Russia*, *Turkey*, and *East-India* Companies were established. In 1561, the Spire of St. Paul's Cathedral in *London*, the Timber Part of which was 267 Feet high, and the Roof 720 Feet long, and 130 broad, were burnt down by the Negligence of a Plumber, who left a Pan of Coals in the Steeple, when he went to Dinner. And, in 1593, there were 10,675 Persons died of the Plague in *London*.

ELIZA, England's bright Hesperian Star!

"Twas thine to rule in *Peace*, and shine in *War*:

In this, terrific, more than any King;

In that, mild as the Beauties of the Spring.

Beneath thy Arm, was crush'd the *Papal* Pride:

Beneath thy Feet, Barbarian *Priestcraft* dy'd.

Glorious in all; in Senate, or in Field.

Heroes, admire! your Palms of Honour yield:

This Heroine! this all-accomplish'd Queen,

Robs ye of all, that Arts, or Arms have seen.

Born to command, how justly did she sway

Those Subjects, that so justly could obey?

In vain, the *Gaul* attempts to shake her Throne :
 In vain, the *Papal Pow'r* would crush her down.
 Her own *Palladium* she herself up-rais'd ;
 Religion's purest Altar ! Tyrants gaz'd
 With Awe ; while, happy in her *People's Love*,
Eliza scorns the Storm that rows above.

Philip, who nodded on the *Spanish Throne*,
 Saw *England's Crown* divided from his own.
 His Love despis'd, he seeks to vent his Rage
 With *War's* big Terrors, that alarm'd the Age.
 The proud *Armada* comes on *England's Coast* :
 Tho' term'd *Invincible*, it soon is lost.
 The *British Chieftains*, *Howard*, *Raleigh*, *Drake*,
 Appear ; and all the *British Lion* wake.
 The *Spaniards* fly before his awful Roar,
 And seek Protection on the *Gallic Shore* :
 There, Fire accomplish'd what the Sword begun :
 Next, on the *Belgic Sands* they wildly run :
 Then, on *Hibernia's* Shore are rudely tost ;
 And *Spain*, for ever, mourns her ruin'd Host.

Important *Aera* ! Nations, now, obey
Eliza's Pow'r, and own her *Naval Sway*.
 She aids the *Huguenot*, in *Gallia's* Field :
 And saves the *Belgic Pow'r*s beneath her Shield.
 To her, the savage *Russian* gentle grows :
 To her, *Morocco's* Prince a Friendship shows.
 The *Turkish Sultan* frees for her his *Porte* :
 The *Persian Sophy* does her Favour court.
 To her, the proud *Mogul* indulgent bends :
 And Kings, in the *Columbian World*, are Friends.
 While busy *Commerce* visits ev'ry Land,
 And brings each Tribute to *Eliza's* Hand.
 Great Patroness of *Arts* ! beneath thy Smile
 The *Attic Genius* comes to bless our *Isle*.

Yet, in the bright Meridian of thy Reign,
 A sable Cloud rolls on, thy Fame to stain.
 A Sister-Queen, whose Blood was like thy own,
 Unhappy *Mary* ! fill'd the *Scottish Throne* :
France, too, had own'd her Queen ; for she was led,
 In Beauty's Prime, to *Gallia's* royal Bed.

A Widow

A Widow soon ; she seeks the *Stewart* Line,
And to young *Darnley* does her Charms consign.

Oh ! *Mary*, fairer than the Virgin-Rose,
At thy sad Fate, the *Muse*'s Sorrow flows ;
By jealous *Darnley*, *tuneful Rixio* dies ;
And quickly falls himself a Sacrifice.

Mary, the *Murd'rer* weds ! and, now dethron'd,
She hopes, in *England*, Refuge may be found.

Ah ! vain thy Hope ; — Captivity thy Lot :
For *England*'s Queen suspects the Royal *Scot*.
First, *Norfolk* bleeds : Then, (hide, Oh, Time ! the
Scene)

The bloody Axe destroy'd the beauteous Queen.

A *Pallas*, *England* in *Eliza* found :

A *Venus*, *Scotland* in *Maria* own'd.

And, when *Eliza* dy'd, *Maria*'s Son,
As Heir undoubted, fill'd the *English* Throne.

The gallant *Sydney* bled in *Zutphen*'s Field ;
And ev'ry *Muse* wept o'er the Heroe's Shield ;
Mars, and *Minerva*, lost their noblest Son ;
Who all the Palms of War, and Wisdom, won.

Essex, by Land ; and *Raleigh*, on the Main ;
Ennobled, and enrich'd, this *Virgin-Reign*.

But *Essex* fell, by ministerial Strife ;
And, on a Scaffold, lost his noble Life.
So, when *pacific James* the Scepter sway'd,
Illustrious *Raleigh* lost his sacred Head !

A NEW
HISTORY
O F
ENGLAND.

The FIFTH PART.

From the Reign of *James the First* in
1603, to the Establishment of the
Commonwealth in 1649.

ІНГЛІАНІЯ
ТОЯРІЯ

МД.



From the Royal Collection of King George III
1803 to the Representatives of the
Commonwealth of India

The STEWART LINE.

XXIV. JAMES I. the forty-fourth Monarch of England, and the first of Great-Britain; the twenty-fourth from the Norman Conquest; and the first of the Stewart Line.

NOTHING is more uncertain than the Right by which the Kings of England reigned from the Conquest, to the Time of James the First, who had in his Person a threefold Right, which rendered his Title indisputable. The First was the *Parliamentary Right*, which derived its Validity from the Act of Parliament, securing the Crown to *Henry the Seventh* and his Heirs. The Second was *Hereditary Right*, as being the nearest Relation, and natural Heir, to *Queen Elizabeth*. And these two Rights were confirmed by the Queen's *Will*, which made the Third. But *James* wanted to establish the *Hereditary Right*, though no Law could be produced sufficient for that Purpose; while there were many Precedents, in the *English History*, to shew, that the Parliament assumed a Power to dispose of the Crown, and settle the Succession, without any Regard to the next Heir; as also that more Kings have ascended the Throne by Virtue of Acts of Parliament, or some other Means, than by *Hereditary Right*; Nor was there one Prince who had less Right to the Crown than *Henry the Seventh*, before he was confirmed by the Parliament; and it was therefore from the *Parliamentary Confirmation*,

firmation, rather than from the *Hereditary Right* of *Henry the Seventh*, that *James the First* could derive his own Title. The Kings who were most remarkable for their Wisdom and Abilities, took Care to have their Titles confirmed by the *Parliament*, especially if they thought them liable to any Objections: But *James*, by asserting the *Hereditary Right*, was the first Cause of those Troubles which afflicted *England*, brought his Son to the Scaffold, and obliged his Grandson to fly from his Crown.

THE Lines of *Egbert* and *Fergus*, the Founders of the *English* and *Scotch* Nations, were united in *James the First*. His Mother, *Mary Queen of Scotland*, was the Daughter of *James the Fifth*, who was the Son of *James the Fourth*, by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of *Henry the Seventh of England*, whose Male-Issue being extinct in *Elizabeth*, the Female took Place. The Father of *James*, was *Henry Lord Darnley*, of the House of *Stewart*, or *Stuart*, which was of no ignoble Extraction; for *Banquo*, an eminent *Scotch* Lord, who lived in the Year 1040, was their Ancestor, whose Grandson *Walter*, assisted *William the Norman* at the Battle of *Hastings*, and afterwards retired into *Scotland*, where he was made hereditary *Great High Steward*; from which Office, he and his Posterity assumed their Surname, as was customary in *Scotland*. *James* was born at *Edinburgh Castle*, the 19th of *June* 1566, and was baptized a *Roman Catholic*, but afterwards educated in the Protestant Religion, under the Tutelage of the remarkable Historian *Buchanan*, who had given him a Distaste to the noble Maxims of Government. The Crown was set on his Head, while he lay in the Cradle: But at twelve Years of Age he assumed the Royal Authority; and when he was twenty-three he married the Princess *Anne*, second Daughter of *Frederic the Second*, King of *Denmark and Norway*, by *Sophia of Mecklemburg*; by which Marriage *James* had several Children, and came to the Throne of *England* when he was in the thirty-sixth Year of his Age; being then

the oldest King in Europe; as the Years of his Life, and A. D. those of his Reign, were almost the same. 1603.

At the Death of Queen Elizabeth, there were two Factions in the English Court; the Remains of the Essex Party; and their Enemies, headed by Sir Robert Cecil, who so artfully cultivated the Favour of James, that he became Prime Minister to him, as his Father was to Elizabeth. The English People had Reason to entertain some Jealousy of James; but the Council acknowledged him King, and he was proclaimed in London, by the Name of James the First, six Hours after the Death of Elizabeth. The new King had immediate Intelligence from the Council, of his Succession to the Throne of England, which he had long expected with great Impatience, especially as his Inclination to the Catholics made him apprehend that Elizabeth would endeavour to deprive him of the Succession: Besides, he had been educated in the Presbyterian Religion, which was not pleasing to the People of England.

THE new King of England left his old Kingdom of Scotland on the 5th of April, when he quitted Edinburgh, and arrived at London on the 7th of May; being attended by several of the principal Scotch Nobility, and met by those of England at York, who conducted him to the Charter-House in London, among loud Acclamations from the People. As Elizabeth had been very parsimonious in the Distribution of Honours, with which Sovereigns are used to reward the Merit and Services of their Subjects, her Successor bestowed them with such Profusion before he was crowned, that never had the like Number of Knights, Barons, and Earls, been made in any former Reign: But the Howard Family, and the Friends of the late Earl of Essex, were principally distinguished; while Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, were coldly received.

THE King sent for his Queen and three Children from Scotland; but he would not suffer them, himself, or his Court, to go into Mourning for Elizabeth; and retired to the Earl of Pembroke's Seat at Wilton near Salisbury, to avoid the Plague which had broke out in London.

A. D. 1603. He received Ambassadors from several Princes, particularly from the King of Spain, with Proposals of a Peace; and, for the more solemn Reception of Ambassadors, the Office of *Master of the Ceremonies* was instituted: But, while the Court was at Wilton, a Conspiracy, or rather the Project of a Conspiracy, was discovered; the principal Authors of which were the Lords Wilton, and Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others; who were charged with a Design to compel the King to agree to their Terms, or to place the Lady *Arabella Stewart* on the Throne, who was Cousin-German to the King. The Conspirators were apprehended, and tryed at *Winchester* in November following; when they were condemned to die; though no Man could then tell what their Treason was, which is at present with so dark a Comment, that Posterity will never understand the Text, or remember any such Treason. It is thought, that Count *Aremberg* occasioned this Plot to destroy Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who, of all *England*, was the Man most dreaded by the *Spaniards*. There is some Probability, that Sir *Walter*, and some others, might use disaffected Expressions, as they were forbid Attendance at Court, because they desired that the King might be tied to some Articles at his Accession to the Crown; in which they were opposed by *Cecil*, *Suffolk*, and *Northampton*, to whom the King chiefly committed the Management of his Affairs. Four Persons were executed for this Plot, and the rest sent back to Prison, without a Pardon. Lord *Wilton* died soon after: And Lord *Cobham* at last obtained his Liberty; though he was stript of 7000*l.* a Year, and 30,000*l.* in Money; so that he died in a most indigent Manner; in whose Person ended that noble Family, which had flourished for many Ages. But Sir *Walter Raleigh*, whose Trial was a Reproach to Mankind, and his Condemnation to Humanity, remained twelve Years in the *Tower*, where he wrote his incomparable History of the World, and afterwards lost his glorious Life, to the great Dishonour of his Prince.

Soon

SOON after the Discovery of this Plot, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster, by *John Whitgift*, ^{1603.} *Archbishop of Canterbury*, on the 25th of July, being St. James's Day. The Puritans imagined, as James had been educated in their Religion, that he would reform the Faults they pretended to find in the Church of England: But the Government of the Church by Presbyters too much resembled a Commonwealth, to be agreeable to a Prince so prepossessed in Favour of Monarchy; who immediately went over to the Church of England, which was much more conformable to his Principles.

THE Puritans therefore petitioned the King for a Toleration and Reformation; who appointed a Conference between the two Parties, ^{1604.} wherein he would be Moderator himself. The Conference was held at Hampton-Court, in January, between some Bishops, and Presbyterian Ministers; when the King strongly vindicated the Church of England; and *Welwood* says, the Conference was but a Blind to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland: After which, a Proclamation was issued for enjoining them to conform to the Worship of the Established Church; and several of the Puritans retired into Holland. The Jesuits were banished the Kingdom by another Proclamation: Though Bishop *Burnet* observes, that the King continued always writing and talking against Popery; but acting for it. Several other Proclamations were issued for suppressing some Abuses, such as Monopolies, and other Things tending to the Oppression of the People; who, at the same Time, were restricted from Hunting: So that this may be called a Reign of Proclamations, which the King and his Ministers wanted to have regarded as Laws: But neither the Judges nor People were yet accustomed to such Proceedings.

JAMES was possessed with strange Notions concerning the English Constitution; being persuaded the Privileges of the Nation, were so many Usurpations, or revocable Concessions of the Crown; and he embraced all Opportunities to improve his Prerogative-

A. D. Royal, to which he set no Bounds. In his first Speech to his Parliament, he observed, how necessary it was to have an Union of the two Kingdoms; saying, "I am the Husband, and all the whole Island is my lawful Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my Flock." This, and some other Parts of his long pedantic Speech, were turned into Ridicule. An Act was passed to confirm the King's Title to the Crown of *England*; and Commissioners were appointed to examine his Proposals concerning the Union of it with *Scotland*, which were of little Effect. To accelerate this Union, he ordered himself to be proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, and the Scotch Arms to be quartered with those of *England*: But, while he was flattered by his Courtiers with the Principles of arbitrary Power, the House of Commons informed him of their Privileges, with which they supposed him not yet fully acquainted. It was some Time before the People had a clear Knowledge of the Genius and Character of their Prince, to whom nothing was more grateful than to be extolled for his Learning and Parts: But, when he was once known, the Esteem at first entertained of him, very sensibly diminished, to which the King himself greatly contributed by his strange Conduct: For the Struggles between him and the House of Commons,削弱ed the latter their own Strength, and encouraged them to unite for their own Defence, 'till they gathered such a mighty Force, as, within half a Century, to be able to leave Monarchy itself from its Basis.

THE Constable of *Castile* was sent by the King of *Spain* to treat of a Peace with *England*; and Commissioners were appointed to treat upon that Subject: While the unhappy *Raleigh*, though in Prison, and under Sentence of Death, for plotting with the Spaniards, drew up many strong Reasons against this Peace, and presented them to *James*. The People looked upon a Peace with *Spain*, to be the stopping up of the Source of national Honour and Riches. However, the English Ministry thought that such a Peace would be advantageous

geous to the Trade of their Country, and the Treaty was A. D. signed on the 18th of August; being the Basis, if not the 1604. Model, of all subsequent ones between the two Crowns: After which, the Court of *England* was excessively splendid, and was graced with the Duke of *Holstein*, Brother to the Queen; while nothing was now talked of but cultivating the Arts of Peace, and extending the Blessings of Commerce; for the national Debt, which was only 400,000*l.* on the Death of *Elizabeth*, was now increased to almost double that Sum.

WHILE the King was enjoying his favourite Diver- A. D. sion of Hunting, at *Roxton* in *Hertfordshire*, the Gun- 1605. Powder-Treason Plot was begun against him and the Parliament. *Henry Garnet* was now the Superior of the English Jesuits, and with others had long meditated the Destruction of *England*, to put the King of *Spain* upon the Throne. The Plot began to ripen, by the Means of *Robert Catesby*, *Robert* and *Thomas Winter*, *Thomas Piercy*, and *Guy Faukes*; who were assisted by *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, and *Francis Tresham*, Esqrs. with two other Gentlemen, named *Robert Keys* and *Thomas Bates*. Their infernal Arts had a fatal Effect upon the Mind of Sir *Everard Digby*; and they were amazingly faithful to their Engagements, which were, " That the Parliament-House, on the first Day of the Session, while the King was on his Throne, surrounded by the Nobility, and attended by the Commons of *England*, should be blown up by Gun-Powder: After which, such of the Royal Family as should escape, were to be secured, the King's Male Issue to be destroyed, and the Princess *Elizabeth* to be proclaimed Queen, under a Protector of their own appointing."

PIERCY, who was one of the Gentlemen-Pensioners, was appointed to hire a Place adjoining to the House of Lords, and the Conspirators began to undermine their Way through a Vault: But before they had mined far enough, they had an Opportunity of taking a large Coal-Cellar immediately under the Parliament-House, where they privately lodged 30 Barrels and 4 Hogsheads of Gun-Powder, which they covered with

A. D. 1000 Billets, and 500 Faggots ; intending to put their
 1605 Plot in Execution on the 5th of November, when the
 Parliament was to meet.

THE Proclamation of the Princess *Elizabeth* was already drawn up ; and the Party of Horse, which were to surprise her, were in Readiness : But, on the 26th of October, a Letter was sent to *William Parker* Lord *Monteagle*, who was then at his House at *Bethnal-Green*, intimating, " That he ought to devise some Excuse to shift off his Attendance at the Parliament : For though there was no Appearance of any Stir, yet they should receive a terrible Blow, and no Person see who hurt them." *Monteagle* carried this Letter to *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Principal Secretary of State, who shewed it to some Privy-Counsellors : But, as the King and *Salisbury*, had received some Information from the French Court of such a Conspiracy, the Danger was readily apprehended, and a Resolution was taken to search all the Rooms and Cellars adjoining to the Parliament-House : But this Search was deferred till the Day before the Meeting of the Parliament, in a Belief, that the nearer the Execution was, the more Signs would be discovered. The Charge of taking Care of the House of Parliament, while the King is in it in Person, belongs to the Lord Chamberlain, who was now the Earl of *Suffolk* ; and his Lordship searched so far as to discover the Faggots which covered the Powder : After which, the Councel resolved to make a farther Search, and committed it to the Care of Sir *Thomas Knevett*, who, about Midnight, attended with proper Assistants, repaired to the Scene of Treason, about twelve Hours before it was to be put in Execution. He seized at the Door a Man in a Cloak and Boots, which was *Guy Faukes*, who passed for *Piercy's* Servant, and had about him a Dark-Lanthorn, a Tinder-Box, and three Matches. They soon found the concealed Gun-Powder : But *Faukes*, instead of being dismayed, boldly told them, if he had been taken within the Cellar, he would have blown up himself and them together. He was a Soldier of Fortune, a desperate Man, and might have been

been as good as his Word. He was threatened with the A. D. Rack, and confessed the whole Conspiracy: But the ^{1605.} other Conspirators fled to the House of Sir Everard Digby at Dunchurc, in Warwickshire, and were soon afterwards killed or taken at Holbeach, in Staffordshire; after vainly attempting to raise an Insurrection among the Papists.

THE Parliament, which was to have met on the 5th of November, was, on this Account, prorogued to the 9th, when the King spoke of the Papists, and their Religion, in an unusual Strain of Complaint; and was at great Pains to persuade the Public, that their King killing Doctrine was not generally professed by that Religion.

THE Earl of Nottingham, and other Commissioners, were appointed to try the Conspirators, who were condemned, and suffered as Traytors: Sir Everard Digby, Grant, and Bates, being executed at the West End of St. Paul's Church; and Thomas Winter, Keys, and Faukes, suffered in Old Palace-Yard, Westminster. None of them denied the Truth of the Conspiracy: But Sir Everard Digby was much lamented; and this Vice of the Father, was recompensed to the State by the Virtues of his Son, Sir Kenelm Digby. Garnet, the Superior of the English Jesuits, was also executed for being privy to the Treason; and the Earl of Northumberland was sent to the Tower, on a Suspicion of being concerned in the Plot; for which he was fined 30,000*l.* in the Star-Chamber, deprived of all his Posts, and imprisoned during the Royal Pleasure: Besides, the Lords Mordaunt and Sturton were fined on the same Account, though there was no other Proof against them, but their not coming to the Parliament. The King publicly declared, he was sure no foreign Prince was privy to the Plot; though he knew all the People suspected the Court of Spain: While all the European Princes, as well Catholic as Protestant, expressed their Abhorrence of so wicked a Design, and congratulated him upon his Deliverance. The 5th of November, was, by Authority of Parliament, enacted to be observed as a Day

180 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. of Thanksgiving, and that Day has been constantly so. ^{1605.} lemnized to this present Time.

A. D. ^{1606.} THE King of *Denmark* arrived to pay a Visit to the Queen his Sister, and the King; who treated him with such royal Magnificence, that all Thoughts of the late Conspiracy seemed to be effaced.

A. D. ^{1607.} THE King vainly recommended the Union of the two Crowns: While an Insurrection broke out in *Nor-thamptonshire*, and Parts adjacent, headed by *John Reynolds*, who called himself *Captain Pouch*: But this Com- motion was easily suppressed.

A. D. ^{1608.} *JAMES* had been incautious enough, by his Behaviour and Declarations, to impress all *Europe* with a Notion, that he was determined to be concerned on no Account in a War: Which rendered the *French* insolent, the *Spaniards* secure, and the *Dutch* diffident towards him; while he thereby suffered in the Opinion of all *Europe*, and rendered himself unpopular to his own People: Though he so far assisted the *Dutch*, that the King of *Spain* acknowledged them an independent People, which gave them a great Figure in the Eyes of *Europe*, and introduced a new System of Politics upon the Continent.

A. D. ^{1609.} THE Sea-Coast of *England* had fallen into great Decay through the vast Resort of *French* and *Dutch* Fishing Vessels, which, in the Space of 50 Years, had increased from 150 to near 3000 Sail every Year, fishing for Herrings and Cod, on the North Coast from *Scotland* to *Suffolk*: While the *Spaniards* fished in the same Manner on the Coast of *Ireland*: But *James* issued a Proclamation for prohibiting Strangers fishing on the *British* Coast, without asking Leave.

THE King wrote a Book intitled, "His Premonition to all Christian Princes and States;" which gave great Offence to the *Roman Catholics*: But *James* did no great Service either to his Interest or Reputation, by his immoderate Desire to be thought a great Author, or by his perpetual Ambition to be a Mediator. In the mean Time he raised an Aid from his Subjects, on the stale Pretence of an Act of the 25th of *Edward the Third*,

Third, for giving the King a reasonable Aid upon A. D. making his eldest Son a Knight. Indeed, the Exchequer was greatly impoverished ; for the King had repaid the City of *London* 60,000*l.* that had been borrowed by Queen *Elizabeth*, whose Funeral Expences amounted to 17,428*l.* The Expence of the King and his Train from *Scotland* to *London* came to 10,752*l.* and his free Gifts out of the Exchequer, paid mostly to *Scots*, amounted to above 14,000*l.* Yearly.

THE King created his eldest Son *Henry*, Prince of A. D. *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester* ; whose yearly Revenues arising from thence amounted to 51,415*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* The Prince was then sixteen Years old ; at which Time there appeared in him such strong Principles of Equity, Justice, Moderation, and Magnanimity, that gained him the Love and Esteem of the *English*. The King kept his Court at *Whitehall* ; the Prince at *St. James's* ; and the Queen had hers at *Somerset-House* : So that the King had three Courts to maintain, which were very expensive, and occasioned the People to murmur, who said, all the Wealth of *England* would not satisfy the Avidity of the *Scotch* ; and that all the Riches of *London* flowed into *Edinburgh*.

THE high Commission introduced by *Henry* the Eighth, and revived by Queen *Elizabeth*, was executed with great Rigour against the Puritans under *James*, whose Speech this Year to his Parliament, tended either plainly, or ambiguously, to establish in him an arbitrary and despotic Power : For he told them, “ As it is Blasphemy to dispute what God may do ; so it is Sedition to dispute what a King may do in the Height of his Power.” But the *English* were Strangers to such a Language from the boldest of their Kings ; and they took Care to prevent the ill Consequences that might result from such a pernicious Doctrine.

WHILE *James* lived in profound Tranquility, the Eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, whose grand Project was to humble the House of *Austria* : But as he was preparing for this

Expe-

A. D. 1610. Expedition, he was murdered by *Ravaillac*, a Fryar, in his own Coach, in the midst of *Paris*. *Ravaillac* confessed he committed this Regicide, because the King would not take Arms against the *Huguenots*; and the Jesuits were universally believed to be concerned in the Murder, which occasioned *James* to issue out a fresh Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits and Priests to depart the Kingdom. He then caused all his Subjects to take the Oath of Allegiance; and renewed the League between *England* and *France*, where *Lewis* the Thirteenth succeeded *Henry* the Fourth.

A. D. 1611. THE King had dissolved his Parliament, with a Resolution never to call another. Of all Men living, says Lord *Clarendon*, he was the most delighted with handsome Persons and fine Cloaths. *James* was always fond of some Favourite, into whose Breast he could ease his Cares of Empire, who could sooth his Vanities, and partake in his Follies: But neither Virtue, Merit, or eminent Qualities, had any Charms for him, who was to be taken only with external Accomplishments. He affected the Lord *Montgomery*, till the *Scotch* found Means to gain the Advantage of the *English*, by giving the King a Favourite of their Nation, This was *Robert Carr*, a young *Scotch* Gentleman, about 20 Years of Age, who had been Page to the King in *Scotland*: He was introduced to Court by Lord *Hay*, and he soon became a perfect Favourite with the King, who made him a Knight, and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber; took the Pains himself to teach him *Latin*, and then raised him to the Office of Lord-Treasurer of *Scotland*. He was soon after created Viscount *Rochester*, made a Privy-Counsellor, and Knight of the Garter; every Thing at Court passed through his Hands, and no Favours were granted but by his Means; though he was far from deserving any such Kind of Honours, which had been showered upon him in Profusion.

A. D. 1612. THE Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, arrived in *England*, to prevail upon *James* to assist the Princes of the German Union; and proposed a Marriage between

between the Prince *Palatine* and the Princess *Elizabeth* : A. D. In Consequence of which, that Prince came to the ^{1612.} English Court, where he was received with the utmost Magnificence, and became the intimate Friend of Prince Henry. But, in the midst of the Court Festivals, the Prince of *Wales* was suddenly seized with a Looseness, accompanied by a Fever, as he was at Dinner with the King in the Privy-Chamber ; which put an End to his valuable Life on the 6th of *November*, in the 18th Year of his Age ; and he was buried in *Westminster-Abbey*. It was the general Opinion that the Prince was poisoned, and the Odium has been thrown upon *Rochester* the royal Favourite, whom the Prince looked upon with Contempt. This Royal Youth has been represented as a second *Titus*, the *Delight of Mankind* : He was manly both in his Sentiments and Exercises : He knew perfectly well what was due to his Rank ; and could not render himself familiar with the Ministers of his Father. He had a splendid Court, yet managed with great Oeconomy. He was well acquainted with History, and discovered a wonderful Genius towards naval Affairs. While his Father was projecting a Marriage for him with an Infanta of *Spain*, the Prince actually entered into a Project of increasing the English Fleet, and attacking *Spanish America* ; which Expedition he had so much at Heart, that he offered to go upon it in Person. His Mind was noble and generous ; gentle and affable : All Historians praise his Virtues, and not one has taxed him with any Vice. He was the Reverse of his Father, who was certainly jealous of the Love the People bore to the Prince ; and had *Henry* lived, *England* would have seen the Reign of *Elizabeth* revived, instead of labouring under Anarchy and Desolation.

THE Earl of *Salisbury* died soon after the Prince of *Wales* ; and was succeeded by the Earl of *Suffolk* as Lord-Treasurer : But *James* lost his ablest Minister in *Salisbury*, who was perfectly acquainted with the State of the Nation, and the Genius of the People.

THE

A. D. THE Scotch were too insolent at the Court of Eng-
1612. *land*, which obliged the King to give Way to an ex-
emplary Piece of Justice upon a Scotch Nobleman,
whose Title was Lord *Sanguir*. The young Lord had
his Eye put out by a Fencing-Master, for which he had
him pistolled by two Ruffians ; and was executed for
the Murder, even without the Favour of the Axe.

THE same Year, the Lady *Arabella Stewart*, Cousin-
German to the King, by his Father's younger Brother,
was committed to the Tower, for marrying the Grandson
of the Earl of *Hertford*, without the Consent of the
King : But the young Lady lost her Senses with her
Liberty, and soon afterwards her Life.

A. D. THE Nuptials between the Prince *Palatine* and the
1613. Princess *Elizabeth* were celebrated, with the utmost
Magnificence, on the 14th of February : From which
Marriage sprung the Princess *Sophia*, who married the
Duke of *Hanover*, and in whose Right the illustrious
House of *Brunswic* ascended the Throne of Great-Bri-
tain. This Marriage cost the King 93,278*l.* but it
promised the greatest Advantages to the Protestant In-
terest in *Europe*, and the Nation was so well pleased,
that they chearfully bore the Expence ; and the Prince
was honourably conducted to *Germany*.

THE Earl of *Essex*, whose Father had been be-
headed by *Elizabeth*, had been educated under the Care
of *James*, and, being now about twenty Years of Age,
was one of the most promising young Noblemen in *Eu-
rope*, when he married the Lady *Frances Howard*,
Daughter to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who was the most
finished Beauty of the Court : But her Heart was as
foul, as her Face was fair. She prostituted her Charms
in the Arms of *Rochester* ; then laid a Scheme for get-
ting herself divorced from her Husband ; and of pub-
licly becoming the Wife of his Adulterer. Sir *Thomas
Overbury*, a Man of Wit and Sense, and a perfect good
Judge of Life, had been some Years the Confident of
Rochester, and opposed the Scheme proposed by the
Countess of *Essex*, which cost him his Life. The
Countess sued for a Divorce on Account of the Im-
potency

potency of her Earl, the Vigour of whose Constitution A. D. she might probably have destroyed, as she had Recourse ^{1612.} to certain detestable Practitioners in Poisons, covered under the Name of Love-Potions, and magical Performances. In the mean Time, Rochester artfully recommended Overbury to the King, as a fit Person to send on an Embassy: But this was only a Snare to catch his old Friend, whom he prevailed upon to decline such an Employment, and then so far misrepresented him to the King, as to get him committed a Prisoner to the Tower, under Pretence that he had spoke disrespectfully of the Court. The real Intent was to have him privately murdered, as he was acquainted with all the Secrets of Rochester; and several Attempts were made to poison him, which at last had their Effect. Rochester prevailed upon the King to appoint Commissioners to determine the Affair of the Divorce: The Earl of Essex was now sensible of his Lady's Love for the Royal Favourite, and so heartily disdained her, that he disowned he had ever consummated his Marriage, which was annulled, and the Lady was immediately after married to Rochester, who was then created Earl of Somerset. The Death of Overbury occasioned great Speculation; and the new-raised Somerset was running precipitately to a violent Fall; for he was soon to be supplanted by George Villiers, afterwards the famous Duke of Buckingham.

THE Loans raised by the Court, occasioned a visible A. D. Discontent among the People, who dreaded the growing Tenderness of the King to the Roman Catholics, and his declared Aversion to the Nonconformists, who were composed of many different Sects, and many of them sent over to the Northern Parts of America: While the City of London sent 300 Men to plant the Province of Ulster in Ireland. The Order of Knighthood had been of late shamefully conferred on the meanest of Mankind; and the Earl of Salisbury had formed a Project for raising Money, and improving the Plantations in Ireland, by erecting a new Order, which was to take Precedency of Knights Batchelors, and was to be termed Knights Baronets. The Number of this Order was

A. D. was limited to 200, who were each to pay 1500*l.* and
1614. to maintain 30 Men to over-awe the *Irish* Rebels: But, in after Times, this Institution received many Alterations, as it opened a Channel of Honour to *English* Gentlemen of Property, who, through its Cheapness, disdained the Honour of Knighthood, and yet were obliged to yield Precedency to those that were Knights, though inferior to them in all other Respects. But the Way of raising Money by Benevolence, which was invented by *Edward* the Fourth, and afterwards abolished, was now revived, to the great Prejudice of the People, who were squeezed out of a Sum of 50,000*l.* which the King lavishly spent in entertaining the King of *Denmark* on his second Visit to *England*.

A. D. 1615. THE Conduct of *Somerset* had incensed the Queen, who imagined he was privy to the Death of her Son; and had drove the principal Nobility from the Court, who could not bear to see the Liberties of *England* so rapaciously innovated. The *Scotch* Game was therefore to be played, and the Favourite of that Nation was to be removed by the Introduction of an *Englishman*. With this View was *Villiers* introduced before the King by some *English* Lords: He was Son of Sir *George Villiers*, and had received a finished Education; being an accomplished handsome Gentleman, in the 21st Year of his Age. The Queen was prevailed on to recommend *Villiers* to the King, who had already made him his Cup-bearer; and, on this Occasion, not only knighted him, but also made him a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, with a yearly Pension of 1000*l.*

THE whole Court perceived the Alteration in the King, since he had *Villiers* about him, and every one strove to thrust the old Favourite down the Precipice. It was now currently reported, that *Overbury* was poisoned by *Somerset*; and *James* sent for the Judges to his beloved Retirement at *Theobalds*, where he charged them to examine into this Affair; telling them, " If ye shall spare any of this Crime, God's Curse light on you, and your Posterity: And, if I spare any that are found guilty, God's Curse light on me, and my Posterity." A dreadful Invocation, and badly observed by him who made it.

S O-

SOMERSET was arrested for the Murder of *Overbury*, in the Presence of the King, who said, he could not omit the Arrest, but if *Coke* sent for him, he must go. The Earl and his Countess were sent to the *Tower*, while Sir *Jervis Elvis*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and others, were apprehended on the same Account, tried, convicted, and executed. *Somerset* behaved as if the King durst not provoke him too far: However, both the Earl and his Countess were brought to a Trial before their Peers, and condemned to die: But the King at first granted them a Reprieve, and afterwards a Pardon, with 4000*l.* a Year; neglectful of the Curse he had pronounced against himself and his Posterity. However, the Love between the two Criminals turned to invincible Hatred: The Countess rotted to the Grave by a loathsome Distemper; but the Earl lived long enough to see his Daughter married to the Duke of *Bedford*, who had by her that Lord *Russel*, beheaded in the Reign of *Charles the Second*.

VILLIERS was now the Rising-Sun at Court, and was greatly beloved by the People for his Disinterestedness and Generosity. He was made Master of the Horse, and a Knight of the Garter; while all Promotions at Court went by his Recommendation. A Dispute happened between the King and the Judges, concerning the Prerogative, in Regard to disposing of Commendams; which the Council decided in Favour of the King, who dismissed the Lord Chief-Justice *Coke* from the Bench; whose Institutes, as a Comment upon *Littleton*, have done him the greatest Honour; though his insolent Pleadings at the Trial of Sir *Walter Raleigh* have branded him with eternal Infamy: But Sir *Francis Bacon* was made Lord-Chancellor, for his Devotion to the Crown; from which high Office he was afterwards removed with no little Disgrace; though his Learning, as a Philosopher, made him much more conspicuous than his Knowledge as a Lawyer, or his Eloquence as an Orator.

PRINCE *Charles*, the King's only Son, was now created Prince of *Wales*, in the 16th Year of his Age. The

A. D. The King thought of marrying his Son; but deemed it a Disparagement for him to marry the Daughter of any *German* Prince; and very impolitely coveted a Match with an *Infanta of Spain*; which came to nothing, though the Prince was sent into that Kingdom, purely upon that Account. James was now in such Necessity, that he surrendered up the Cautionary Towns to the *Dutch* for 2,728,000 Florins, in Lieu of 8,000,000 which they promised to pay *Elizabeth*, besides 18 Years Interest: This confirmed to him the Title of *Pacific*, which he affected above all others; but it rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of the *English*, who knew that by this Action, he robbed them of the Advantage of holding the United Provinces in a Sort of Subjections, because these Towns were the Keys to the *Scheld*, the *Rhine*, and the *Maese*. The Lord-Treasurer *Suffolk* was fined 30,000*l.* in the *Star-Chamber*, for converting some of that Money to his own Use; and *Villiers*, who was his Enemy, was created Earl of *Buckingham*.

A. D. The Church of *Scotland* was still Presbyterian, to the great Mortification of the King, who feared their Republican Principles, and undertook a Journey into that Kingdom, "to reform certain Abuses in the Church and Commonwealth," as he expressed himself in his Proclamation: But he could not prevail on the *Scots* to conform to his Will.

THE King returned to *England*, and published the *Book of Sports*, wherein he maintained, that Pastimes on Sundays, after Evening Service, were allowable: But many Churchmen; and all the Presbyterians, exclaimed against it; while the King ordered it to be read in all Churches. However, *Buckingham* was the head Manager both in Church and State: Out of the former he enriched himself by Fines, and out of the latter he enriched his Family by Pensions.

THE great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, the Glory of his Country, but the Reproach of her Government, continued still a Prisoner in the *Tower of London*, for the ridiculous Plot, of which he was cruelly found guilty

at

at *Winchester*. Prince *Henry* used to say, that no other King but his Father, would keep such a Bird as Sir *Walter Raleigh* in a Cage: For this excellent Prince regarded *Raleigh* as the Pride of his future Royalty; and the People looked upon him as the last Ray of Glory that was to be seen of the Reign of their beloved *Elizabeth*. The King was conscious he had injured this illustrious Man, whose Character was now the foremost in Arts, as it had long been in Arms: For, during his long Confinement, he wrote his excellent *History of the World*; and, though the rapacious *Somerset* had deprived him of his opulent Estate, the King gave him 8000*l.* as some Recompence; and, during the late Coldness between him and *Spain*, had listened to some Propositions from *Raleigh* for an Expedition to *America*, in quest of a Gold Mine which he had formerly discovered on the Coast of *Guiana*. The King granted him a Commission for undertaking this Expedition; by Virtue of which he engaged several Persons in his Project, who supplied him with Money to fit out twelve Ships, with which he departed in *August* in Search of the Mine: But, after plundering the *Spanish* Town of *St. Thome*, he returned without effecting the Discovery; in which his Conduct was like that of *Regulus*; for he knew that the *Spaniards* would seek his Ruin; and, as he had no Pardon for what he had been condemned, he imagined he should fall a Sacrifice; but his Love of Honour, set him above the Fear of Death.

THE *Spaniards* had long pretended to have an exclusive Right of trading to *America*, and particularly to those Countries adjacent to their own Territories; which was never allowed by Queen *Elizabeth*. *Don Diego de Sarmiento*, Count of *Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, at first represented the Scheme of *Raleigh* as a Fiction; and, on his Return without Gold, knew he should soon find him without a Head. He intimidated *James*, by representing to him the frightful Scenes of War between the two Nations, and the Breach of the Marriage-Treaty between the Infanta and the Prince of *Wales*. *Raleigh* found himself betrayed;

A. D. trayed ; he vainly vindicated himself to the King, and
1617. *Gondomar* thirsted for his Blood, that it might deter
other *Englishmen* from committing Hostilities against the
Spaniſh Possessions. This wily *Spaniard* suggested to
James, the wicked Expedient of cutting off *Raleigh* by
his former Sentence : Barbarity and Illegality were
practised together : So that *Raleigh* found all Defence
was in vain ; and, after having been fifteen Years under
Sentence of Death, was now ordered to suffer its Exe-
cution, which was as sudden as cruel. It was on the
28th of *October* 1618, that he was called down to
Judgment before the Court of *King's-Bench*, when
Execution was awarded against him upon the former
Sentence : He was carried from the Court to the *Gate-
house* ; and the next Morning led to Execution, in the
Old Palace-Yard, Westminster, where all his Behaviour
displayed the great Man, and worthy Christian. In
his Speech, upon the Scaffold, he eloquently justified
his Character from all Imputations ; particularly clear-
ing himself from the Aspersion thrown upon him, as if
his Pretext upon *Guiana* had been all a Forgery ; and
protesting, that he had no Hand in the Death of the
Earl of *Essex*, nor bore him any ill Affection, though
they were of a contrary Faction. He then prepared
himself for Death, and desired to see the Axe, saying,
with a Smile, " This is a sharp Medicine, but it is a
sound Cure for all Diseases :" After which, his Head
was cut off at two Blows, by the Executioner, in the
66th Year of his Age, according to some Writers,
though others say he was in his 77th. It is certain,
he fell a Victim to the *Spaniſh* Court, for the Prejudice
he had done them under the Reign of *Elizabeth* ; which
is an eternal Infamy upon the Character of *James*, who
vainly let some of the principal Nobility throw them-
selves at his Feet for the Pardon of *Raleigh*, who was
not only the greatest Ornament of his Nation, as a
Soldier, a Scholar, and a Statesman ; but, as a Man,
he had done more substantial Good to his Country, by
settling the Colony of *Virginia*, than any other *English-
man* that ever was born ; for the Tobacco of that
Country,

Country, which was then despised by *James*, proved A. D.
to his Successors a Mine above Ground, of more ^{1617.}
Value than any Mines that could be discovered in
Guiana.

THE *English* Nobility, and the rest of the *English* Pa- A. D.
triots, beheld the Fate of *Raleigh* with silent Indignation ; ^{1618.}
while all the Powers of Government centered in *Buck-
ingham*, who ordered *Cottington*, one of the Residents in
Spain, to inform the *Spanish* Court, how able a Man Sir
Walter Raleigh was, to have done his Majesty's Service ;
yet, to give them Content, he had not spared him ;
when by preserving him, he might have given great Sa-
tisfaction to his Subjects, and had at Command, upon
all Occasions, as useful a Man as served any Prince in
Christendom. Greatly-injured *Raleigh*, this Confession,
from thy avowed Enemy, should immortalize thy Me-
mory, and make thy Character as unfullied as the *Al-
pine* Snow : While we should remember that *James* be-
headed thee, for what *Drake* was knighted by *Eli-
zabeth*.

NOTHING was heard at Court but Blasphemy and
Oaths, nor was the King himself free from this Vice :
His Favourite, who had been made Marquis of *Buck-
ingham*, and Lord High Admiral, though he had never
been at Sea except from *Dover* to *Calais*, greatly incensed
the People, who could not, without Indignation,
behold a Man of twenty-five imperiously governing the
whole Kingdom. The Aim that the *Spaniards* pursued
in marrying the Infanta to the Prince of *Wales*, was to
separate *England* from the United Provinces, that they
might the more easily reduce them to Obedience : But
this Match could not be agreeable to the *English*, as the
Infanta was Daughter to the mortal Enemy of the Pro-
testant Religion : though the King of *Spain* had no
other Intent, than carefully to prolong the Negotiation,
till he had drawn all possible Advantages from it, as
well for the House of *Austria*, as for the Catholic Re-
ligion.

A. D. 1619. In March, this Year, the King lost his Queen, who died at *Hampton-Court* of a Dropsey, in the forty-sixth Year of her Age, and was buried at *Westminster*; having the Character of a good Woman, but much addicted to Pleasure. The King was seized with a severe Illness shortly after the Death of his Queen; which brought him to the Brink of the Grave; and it would have been happy for his Reputation, if he had died at this Time, since the rest of his Reign, which lasted six Years longer, was not much to his Honour; as, in that Space, he more plainly discovered his settled Design to stretch the Prerogative-Royal as high as possible.

THE House of *Austria* pretended an hereditary Right to the Crown of *Bohemia*: But the States of that Kingdom elected *Frederic, Elector Palatine*, for their King, in Hopes his Title would be supported by his Father-in-Law the King of *England*, in Opposition to the Emperor *Ferdinand*. The Elector was crowned by the *Bohemians*: But *James* gave him no Assistance; and, of all the Protestant Princes, he was the only one that never gave him the Title of King; which was done in Complaisance to the Court of *Spain*.

A. D. 1620. *Ferdinand* and *Frederic* took Arms, each to support their Title to the Throne of *Bohemia*; and *James* made a Shew of Neutrality, that he might induce the two Competitors to make him Arbiter of their Difference. The Elector might have preserved the Crown, if he had been assisted by *James*; which was the Sense and Desire of the *English* Nation: But the King was so far infatuated to get the Infanta for his Daughter-in-Law, that he left the Elector his Son-in-Law to provide for his own Security: However, he permitted some of his Nobility to raise 2200 Men for the Service of the Elector, which were commanded by Sir *Horatio Vere*, the Earl of *Essex*, and others, who were fond of signallizing themselves in Arms, instead of quietly resting at Home, under a King who gloried in the Title of *Pacific*. The Elector was defeated at *Prague* by the Imperialists, when he was deserted by his Allies, and fled in-

to Holland: While *Spinola*, the Spanish General, reduced ^{A. R.} the *Palatinate*. ^{1620.}

THE King, though *Gondemar* had made him a Tool, ^{A. D.} wished to preserve the *Palatinate* for his Son-in-Law, ^{1621.} and was therefore obliged to call a Parliament against his Inclination; because he was in Hopes to have large Sums granted him on this Occasion; wherein he meant to imitate his Predecessor *Henry the Seventh*. The Commons granted a considerable Supply, and complained of some Grievances; in Consequence of which, the Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, was impeached for Bribery and Corruption, had the Seal taken from him, was fined in 40,000*l.* and had like to have been deprived of his Dignity of Baron of *Verulam*, and Viscount *St. Albans*: Though his Decrees in Chancery were generally made with so much Equity, that never was any one of them reversed as unjust; and his too great Indulgence to his Servants was the Cause of his Ruin; for, amidst all this Bribery, his Lordship was in great Poverty, nor was ever known to be avaricious: However, if he was not the best of Men, he was the brightest of Philosophers. He was afterwards pardoned, and died in Retirement; having a Competency from the King, in Hopes of whose Favour he wrote the *History of Henry the Seventh*.

IT was properly in this third Parliament, that two Parties were formed; the one for the Court, and the other for the People; who began, from this Time, to oppose one another upon all Occasions, and continued their Oppositions in the succeeding Reigns under various Denominations; as High Church, and Low Church; Tories, and Whigs; Court Interest, and Country Interest: They were well and honestly founded at first; but dwindled into Ridicule and Contempt at last.

PHILIP the Third of Spain died in March, and was succeeded by his Son *Philip the Fourth*: The Death of the Archduke happened soon afterwards; but the Elector *Palatine* was still in a miserable Situation.

A. D. THE King had dissolved the Parliament for being ^{1623.} tenacious in Defence of their Privileges, and watchful over the Extension of his Prerogative: While it was said, the King might have almost purchased such a Country as the *Palatinate*, with the Money he sent on Embassies for its Preservation. He was lampooned Abroad, and ridiculed at Home. Instead of assisting the *Palatine*, he sent *Digby*, newly created Earl of *Bristol*, into *Spain*, to accelerate the Marriage with the Infanta: After which, the Prince of *Wales*, and *Buckingham*, privately went to *Madrid* for the same Purpose, where they were magnificently entertained; but the Prince returned without his Bride; though loaded with Honours and Presents. It was happy his Return to *England* was not prevented; yet very impolitic of *James* to trust his Son in *Spain* without a safe Conduct, especially as he had Examples of what Disasters might have happened; in the Prince of *Scotland*, detained by *Henry the Fourth of England*; and in the Person of his own Mother so lately detained by *Elizabeth*.

VILLIERS had been created Duke of *Buckingham* for his Services in *Spain*, and was now the only Duke in *England*: He proposed the Match with *Spain*, and was the Cause of breaking it; after *James* had been seven Years employed about it; and, for its Success, scrupled not to sacrifice the Interests of his Son-in-Law, his own Reputation, the Religion he professed, the Good of his People, and the Laws of his Realm.

THE *Dutch*, who owed their very Existence as a free People to *England*, now began to despise the Power of *James*, and committed the Massacre of the *English* at *Amboyna*, one of the *Molucca* Islands; where they put the Factory to Death, and seized their Effects; for which insolent Affront no Reparation was obtained till the Year 1654, when *Cromwell* made the *Dutch* pay 300,000*l.* on that Account.

A. D. *BUCKINGHAM* managed the King as he pleased, ^{1624.} and prevailed on him to call a Parliament, in which his Majesty seemed to abate of his former Pride and Prerogative.

Prerogative. *Buckingham* removed the Earl of Middle-^{A. D.} *sex* from the Office of Lord-Treasurer; and kept the ^{1624.} Earl of *Bristol* from any Access to the King, who apprehended there was some Conspiracy formed between the Duke and the Prince. The Parliament granted a Supply sufficient to enable the King to send 25,000 Men to recover the *Palatinate*: But he sent only 6000 to be in the Service of the *Dutch*, and 12,000 to be commanded by *Mansfeldt*, who was denied a Passage into the Empire, which rendered this Army uselets, and most of them perished by a Pestilence. In the mean Time, a Marriage was negociated between the Prince of *Wales*, and the Princess *Henrietta of France*, whom the Prince had seen while he was in Disguise at *Paris*; and this Marriage took Effect.

THE Marriage-Articles with the Princess of *France* ^{A. D.} had been adjusted: But, while a Dispensation was ^{1625.} coming from the Pope, King *James* died, without having the Pleasure of seeing the Marriage consummated. He was afflicted with a *Tertian Ague* at *Theobalds*; where he enjoined the Prince of *Wales*, "To love his future Confort, but not her Religion;" and then died, on the 27th of *March*, in the 59th Year of his Age, and the 22d of his Reign over *England*; being buried in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel* at *Westminster*, on the 7th of *May*: But, by a Note in *Bishop Laud's Diary*, "he fears the King's Disease was the *Gout*, and that a wrong Application of Medicines had driven it from his Feet to his inward vital Parts." This unexpected Death of the King caused many Suspicions, which fell on the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was afterwards impeached by the Commons, for daring to apply Remedies without the Advice of Physicians: But nothing could be proved against the Duke that constituted an Offence.

THE King had seven Children by his Queen: But only two of them were alive at his Death. These were, *Charles Prince of Wales*, who succeeded him as King of *Great-Britain*: And *Elizabeth*, married to the Elector *Palatine*. *Margaret*, *Mary*, and *Sophia*, died young; and *Henry Prince of Wales* died 13 Years before his Father.

JAMES, in his last Moments, declared he died in the Religion of the Church of *England*: But he was neither a sound Protestant, nor a good Papist. He has been extolled for his Knowledge in Philosophy, Divinity, History, and polite Learning: While, on the other Hand, it has been said, he made the great Duties of the King subservient to the idle Distinctions of the Pedant; and, seeking to make a Figure as a Scholar, he sunk into Contempt as a Man. His principal Diversion was Hunting; and, it was said, if he had shewn as much Sagacity in appointing his Ministers, as in choosing his Dogs, it would have been much happier for his People. The chief Aim in his Administration was to affect the Character of a *Pacific Monarch*: But this was more for indulging his own Indolence, than bestowing the Blessings of Peace upon his Subjects. He has been commended by some for his Liberality; while others have called it Prodigality; and it is certain, he heaped his Favours upon unworthy Favourites. For his Wisdom, he was called the *Solomon* of his Age: He was fond of such a Character; but not deserving of it; for what Wisdom was there, in deserting his Son-in-Law, when he was crowned King of *Bohemia*? Or in sending his Son to *Spain*, when he knew he was only the Tool of *Gondemar*? All *Europe* despised him for leaving his Daughter to Ruin; and his Jester *Archee*, wittily reproached him for sending his Son to Danger. He had some Virtues, blended with many Vices; and nothing, but his Ignorance of the *English* Constitution, could have induced him to such Notions of straining the royal Prerogative. He was a good Prince while he reigned in *Scotland*; but he failed much of that Character when he governed in *England*; and the Death of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, if nothing else, is an Ignominy that will eternally blacken his Memory. However, his Prerogative was not always misapplied; for, without it, Commerce and Manufactures would not have flourished; especially as it was necessary to erect extensive Companies in the infant State of Trade; which, indeed, have been continued to this Day, when it

it would be infinitely better for the Nation to have these Trades laid open.

THOUGH the Father and Mother of *James*, were esteemed the handsomest Couple of the Age they lived in ; yet their Son was so homely, that there was not to be found in any of his Features the least Resemblance of the beautiful *Mary Stewart*, or *Lord Darnley*.

VIRGINIA was discovered by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in 1584; and was planted with an *English* Colony in 1606 : Soon after which, *New-England*, and the *Bermudas*, were made *English* Plantations. In 1604, the *Common Prayer Book* was reprinted with Explanations : While the Streets of *London* were greatly infested by Quarrels, between the *English* and *Scotch*. In 1614, the King committed to Prison several Members of the House of Commons, who had spoken the most freely, without admitting them to Bail ; which, as *Coke* says, was the greatest Violation of the Privileges of Parliament, that ever was done by any King of *England* before : And this Year, Sir *Hugh Middleton* perfected his ingenious, expensive, and laborious Scheme, of bringing the *New-River* from *Ware* to *Islington*, which has been of the utmost Service and Utility to *London*.

Now *England's Roses*, *Scotland's Thistle* join :
 The *English* Throne receives the *Stewart* Line.
Egbert, and *Fergus*, both your ancient Streams
 Of Royalty, united, flow in *James*.
 United, too, your rival Kingdoms smile :
 And *James* is King of all *Britannia's Isle*.

Where *Royton's* Downs present their ample Views,
 Ignobly, *James* the daily Chace pursues :
 Fond of his Triumph o'er the timid Deer ;
 But fearful how to brandish *Britain's Spear*.
Eliza's glorious War he makes to cease ;
 And meanly grants the sinking *Spaniard* Peace.

The Sons of *Rome* a horrid *Plot* conspire,
 With one Eruption of sulphureous Fire,

To murder *Britain's* Senate at a Blow,
And lay her King, with all his Nobles, low :
To blast Religion ; and, with bloody Hand,
Again to desolate the happy Land.

But Heav'n, auspicious, shews the Guilt of *Rome*
And, *Britain*, happily averts thy Doom.

The desp'rate Traitor, far conceal'd from Day,
Where Magazines of Desolation lay,
Is feiz'd, like some fierce Tyger in his Cell :
The *Plot* discover'd, ev'ry Traitor fell.

Oh ! Pow'r supreme, 'twas thine the Land to save,
And rescue Nations from the dreadful Grave :

To thee, our annual Gratitude we pay ;
And latest Ages shall revere the Day.

With rigid Hand, and high imperious Tone,
James, like an *Amurath*, would fill his Throne.

Hereditary Right, he loudly sounds ;
And swells *Prerogative* beyond its Bounds :
Restrains the Senate, where fair *Freedom's* Voice,
In manly Elocution, shews her Choice ;
The gen'rous Choice, that bravely dares oppose
Each Stride of Pow'r tyrannic. Honour glows
Full in the honest *Briton's* patriot Breast ;
Nor by a Monarch will he be opprest.

Mistaken Prince ! thy rain Successors saw,
No Hand should violate the *British* Law :
The *Peoples Rights* in one pure Channel run,
Successive down, from Father to the Son :
And may no Breach burst thro' the sacred Bound,
To spread an Inundation all around.

How miserable is the drooping Land,
Whose Prince is guided by a Minion's Hand ?
Inglorious James, to dignify thy *Carr* ;
And place on *Villiers*, *Windsor's* radiant Star !
Why *Overbury* was thy wretched Fate
Unpunish'd ; while brave *Effex* lost his Mate ?
Or why was *England's* Glory lost in thee,
Illustrious Raleigh ! Oh, vile Infamy,
To shed thy sacred Blood, and brand the Age,
Thou did'st illumine, with tyrannic Rage !

What

What Fault was thine ? To shake the *Spanisb* Throne,
And, *Britain*, make the *Spanisb* Wealth thy own :
Glorious to have thy naval Thunders hurl'd ;
And spread Dominion in the *Western* World.
Or, while the Warrior's Rage was all restrain'd,
Was it a Crime o'er Arts themselves t' have reign'd ;
To tune thy Lyre to *Philomela's* Song ;
Or by the Hand to lead *historic* *Truth* along ?
These were thy Crimes : Great Victim, thus adorn'd,
'Thy Scaffold was an Altar : *Britain* mourn'd
Thy Fate, which might for public Ills suffice :
Spain made, and Heav'n receiv'd, the Sacrifice !

Like *Henry's* *Artiur*, *James*, thy *Henry* dies ;
And ev'ry Virtue weeping by him lies.
Oh ! rogal Youth, *Britannia* saw in thee
The glorious Rays of perfect Majesty.
Unhappy Isle ! long was this Loss deplor'd :
For had thy *Henry* liv'd, thy Fame had been restor'd.
Eliza weds the princely *Palatine*,
Whose Reign extends along the flowing *Rhine* :
From their Embrace the fair *Sophia* springs,
And from her rose the *Brunswic* Line of Kings :
Heroes, and Patriots, form'd Mankind to bleſs ;
Glorious in War, and amiable in Peace !

XXV. C H A R L E S I. *the forty-fifth Monarch of England, and the second of Great-Britain; the twenty-fifth from the Norman Conquest, and the second of the Stewart Line.*

THE late King had strove to enlarge his Prerogative, and the Commons to preserve their Privileges; which were difficult to determine on either Side: For, if the Kings of *England* had always their Prerogatives, the Parliament had always their Privileges: But both should avoid engaging in such Disputes. Accordingly, the wisest and most illustrious Monarchs, as *Edward the First, Edward the Third, Henry the Fifth, Edward the Fourth, Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth*, never had any Contests of this Nature with their Parliaments: While those that were least eminent for their Prudence and Capacity, such as *Henry the Third, Edward the Second, and Richard the Second*, were ruined for raising such Sort of Disputes. *James* was the first, who, in those latter Days, engaged in this Quarrel. He was followed by his Son, and Grandsons: But these Princes, instead of succeeding in their Projects, only rendered themselves most unhappy. For a wise and prudent King of *England*, who knows his own Interest, will never quarrel with his Parliament: And a Parliament, whose sole View is the Welfare of the Kingdom, will take Care never to question the just Prerogative of the King: They have rather chose to see it stretched a little too far, than run the Hazard of breaking an Union, which is the sole Foundation of the public Happiness.

A. D. 1625. KING *Charles the First* was born at *Dumferling* in *Scotland*, on the 19th of *November* 1600; and was in the 25th Year of his Age when he succeeded his Father in the Throne of *Great-Britain*: But he was not crowned

crowned 'till the 2d of *February* 1626, when the Ceremony was performed at *Westminster* by Dr. *Abbot*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. This Prince was tinctured from his Infancy with the Principles concerning the regal Authority, and Prerogative Royal, which were so much improved by his Father. He had the same Favourite, the same Council, and the same Ministers; so that there was nothing new but the Person of the King, who immediately formed two Projects, equally difficult to be executed. The first was, to reinstate his Brother-in-Law the Elector *Palatine*, in his patrimonial Dominions, which had been wrested from him by the Emperor, and the Duke of *Bavaria*. The second, to carry the regal Authority much higher than it had been done by his Father, or any of his Predecessors. These two Projects were the Subject of the first fifteen Years of this Reign: But they were fatal to the Projector, as all the Principles he advanced to support them, tended to establish a despotic Power; because he drew from these Principles the most extensive Consequences, as to fill the Kingdom with Monopolies, to compel his Subjects to give or lend him Money, to dissolve the Parliament for not allowing his Principles, to imprison such Members as ventured to speak freely, and even to declare publicly he would call no more Parliaments.

CHARLES began his Reign with his Marriage; which Ceremony was performed before that of his Coronation: For the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, Daughter of *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, and Sister to *Lewis* the Thirteenth, was married by Proxy in *Paris*, and conducted by the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Dover*, where she was met by the King on the 12th of *June*, and the Marriage was consummated the next Day at *Canterbury*. The King and Queen made their public Entry into *London* on the 16th; and two Days after the Parliament met, when the King made a Speech to both Houses; reminding them of the great Engagements for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, imposed on him by his Father, and by themselves, who broke off the two Treaties with *Spain*. He also affirmed, that no Prince

A. D. was ever more desirous to maintain the Religion he
1625. professed: But the Parliament would not seem to have
fully believed it, since, at the very first, both Houses
joined in presenting a Petition to him against Recusants:
However, they granted him two Subsidies; upon
which he adjourned the Parliament to *Oxford*, by rea-
son of the Plague that raged in *London*.

WHEN the Parliament was reassembled at *Oxford*, the
Commons loudly complained of the ill Conduct of the
Duke of *Buckingham*, for misapplying the public
Money, neglecting to guard the Seas, and sending
Ships to assist *Lewis* the Thirteenth in reducing the
French Protestants at *Rochel*. They wanted a Redress
of Grievances before they granted any Supplies: But
the King chose rather to dissolve the Parliament, which
was accordingly done, after it had sat little above
three Weeks, both at *Westminster* and *Oxford*. The
King was determined to undertake the War against
Spain, and negotiated a League with the *United Pro-
vinces*: He also equipped a Fleet: But, as he wanted
Money, he had Recourse to the Way of Loan, for
raising several considerable Sums; which was
done by directing Letters under his Privy-Seal to
particular Persons, requiring them to lend him a cer-
tain Sum for 18 Months. These forced Loans, prac-
tised by some Kings of *England*, have always been
considered as great Grievances, and tending to render
Parliaments useless: Nor were they suffered to pass
uncomplained of in the next Parliament: With this
Money, the King was enabled to send out a Fleet
against Spain, consisting of 80 Sail, with 10 Regiments
on Board, commanded by *Edward Cecil Viscount Wim-
bleton*, and the Earl of *Essex*, who only plundered a few
Villages, and returned without reaping any Benefit to
the Nation, or acquiring any Honour to the King,
who was obliged to call a new Parliament for a farther
Supply of Money.

A. D. THE King was crowned; and the Parliament met
1626 on the 6th of February, when they complained of the
Miscarriage of the Fleet against *Cadiz*, evil Counsellors
about

about the King, and other national Grievances; where A. D. in they had the Duke of *Buckingham* always in View, 1626. and even caused him to be informed of the Articles on which the Complaints against him were grounded. The King demanded a Supply; at which the Commons were disgusted, as it was done in an extraordinary and unprecedented Manner: Nor, though the Lords endeavoured to persuade them to it, would they grant any Supply, before they had enquired farther into their Grievances, and declared, that a Redress of them ought to precede a Supply. The King vindicated the Duke of *Buckingham* to the Commons: But they were resolved to impeach him in Form. However, to shew the Public how ready they were to assist the King in his Necessities, they voted him four Subsidies, and three Fifteenths: yet they reserved to themselves the Liberty of passing this Vote into an Act, without which it was of no Use to the King.

His Majesty sent for both Houses to *Whitehall*, and told the Commons, that their Committees had proceeded in an unparliamentary Manner, relating to the Duke of *Buckingham*, whose Conduct he commended. He bade them remember, that Parliaments were altogether in his Power for their Calling, Sitting, and Dissolution: Therefore, as he found the Faults of them good or evil, they were to continue, or not to be. This greatly offended the Commons, who justified their Proceedings in a Remonstrance to the King, and insisted it was their undoubted Right, to examine into the Conduct of all Persons of what Degree soever, found grievous to the Commonwealth, in abusing the Power and Trust committed to them by their Sovereign. They would not suffer the King to prescribe them Terms about the Supply; for if they suffered the least Encroachment upon their Rights, they might soon become an empty Name without Authority.

THE King at last consented to the Prosecution of his Favourite: But some Interruption was given to it, by a new Affair which unexpectedly arose about the Earl of *Bristol*. This Nobleman had been confined in the

A. D. ^{1626.} *Tower* by King *James*, for the Concern he had in carrying on the *Spanish Match*: So that he had continued in Prison about two Years, without being brought to a Trial, or even any Charge entered against him. He was desirous of regaining his Liberty, and preferred an Accusation against *Buckingham*: Which so much exasperated the King, that he exhibited a Charge of High-Treason against *Bristol*, whose Defence covered his Accusers with Confusion; and the Commons then brought up to the Lords their Declaration and Impeachment against *Buckingham*.

THE Charge against the Duke consisted of 13 Articles, accusing him of ingrossing into his Hands a great Number of Offices; of his bad Management in the Admiralty; of constraining several Persons to purchase Titles of Honour; of selling some great Offices; of aggrandizing his Relations; of embezzling the Revenue; and of administering Medicines to the late King, without consulting the Physicians. The eight chief Managers in conducting the Impeachment, were Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Herbert*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvile*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Sherland*, and Mr. *Wandesford*; who behaved themselves with great Spirit: For the *British Commons* were now inspired with the Sentiments of *Roman Patriots*; and began boldly to exert themselves in the Cause of their Country; but this Affair came to nothing.

THE King commanded *Diggs* and *Elliot* to be sent to the *Tower*, for speaking too disrespectfully of *Buckingham*; which made a terrible Impression in the House of Commons, who considered it as an express Breach of their Privileges. This caused the two imprisoned Members to be soon released; and the Lords, following the Example of the Commons for maintaining their Rights, got the Earl of *Arundel* discharged from the *Tower*, where he had been committed for much the same Crime as that of *Diggs* and *Elliot*. In the mean Time the King caused *Buckingham* to be elected Chancellor of the University of *Cambridge*; which could not fail of giving Offence; as one of the Articles

Articles against him was Plurality of Offices. The A. D. Duke gave in his Answer to the Impeachment; and 1626. the Commons addressed the King to remove the Duke from his Person; with which his Majesty was so much displeased, that he dissolved the Parliament; though the Lords presented a Petition to him to divert him from his Purpose, which was only to skreen *Buckingham*.

By this hasty Dissolution of the Parliament, the King lost the four Subsidies, and the Fifteenths, that had been voted him; which plunged him into such Difficulties for maintaining a War against the House of *Austria*, that he thought of having Recourse to several uncommon Expedients for raising Money. Compositions were to be made with Recusants for all Forfeitures: Benevolences were to be proposed: The Maritime Counties, and Port Towns, were to fit out a certain Number of Ships: And Tonnage and Poundage were to be continued, without the Consent of Parliament. The King also pretended to alarm the People with his Dread of an Invasion from *Spain*: And he was himself alarmed with Intelligence, that his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, whom he had engaged in a War with the Emperor, was defeated by Count *Tilly*. This Accident obliged *Charles* to find Money to support his Uncle, and the Way which was thought most proper to raise it was, by a general Loan from the Subject, according as every Man was assessed in the Rolls of the last Subsidy. Commissioners were appointed to levy the Loan in the several Counties; each Man who was set 100*l.* in Goods, being to lend 100 Marks; and he that was set 100*l.* in Land, to lend 100*l.* in Money, and so proportionably for a greater or a lesser Sum. The Papists contributed very freely towards the Loan; but the Puritans were very backward in it; and Sir *Randolph Crew*, for not being zealous in promoting it, was removed from his Place of Lord Chief Justice. The People in general were so averse to this Loan, that Money flowed scantily into the *Exchequer*, notwithstanding Soldiers were billeted upon private

A. D. 1626. Votes Houses to intimidate some into a ready Compliance, and others who refused were to be enrolled as Soldiers; for the Irresolute were to be terrified, and the Obstinate compelled. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards Earl of *Strafford*, Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and several other Gentlemen, were either confined to Places at a great Distance from their Habitations, or sent to Prison, for not subscribing to the Loan. While Dr. *Sibthorp*, and Dr. *Manwaring*, were employed to preach, as a Scripture-Doctrine, that Subjects were obliged to obey the Commands of their King, without Examination: Which System of *Passive-Obedience* was more detrimental than beneficial to the Court. *Manwaring* had the Audacity to say, from the Pulpit, that the King was not bound to observe the Laws, concerning the Rights and Liberties of the Subject: As also, that the Authority of Parliament was not necessary for raising Taxes. For this he was fined 1000*l.* by the Parliament, and rendered incapable of any Office: But the King rewarded him with a Bishopric; and suspended *Abbot* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for refusing to license *Sibthorp's* Sermon.

A. D. 1627. The King, in his present Situation, seems to have had only one of the two Courses to take, either to agree with his People, or make Peace with *Spain*: But it was the Interest of his Favourite, and Minister, to keep him at Variance with his People. Instead of persuading the King to make Peace with *Spain*, they engaged him by Degrees to make War with *France*, at a Time when he knew not how to continue the War he had began with the House of *Austria*. *Lewis* the Thirteenth was Brother to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and she had the Toleration of her own Religion: But *Charles* dismissed her Chaplains and Domestics; which was resented by *Lewis* as a manifest Breach of the Marriage-Treaty; though this Monarch shewed no Design to be revenged by Way of Arms. A War with *France* was however to be undertaken; which Lord *Clarendon* entirely attributes to the Duke of *Buckingham*. The King declared

clared to his Council, that this War was necessary; A. D. because *Lewis* had obstructed the landing of the Eng-^{1627.} *lish* Forces sent to the Assistance of the *Palatine*: That he had not observed the Edict of Peace with the Protestants: And that he had unjustly seized upon 120 *English* Ships. A Fleet of above 100 Ships was equipped, under the Pretence that it was destined for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*: But it was really intended to take Possession of *Rochel*, then in the Hands of the *Huguenots*. There was an Army of 7000 Soldiers on Board the Fleet, both of which were commanded by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who failed from *Portsmouth* on the 7th of *June*, and appeared before *Rochel* on the 20th of *July*. The *Rochelers* refused to admit the offered Succours; and *Buckingham* directed his Course for the Isle of *Rhee*, where he was repulsed by *Monsieur Toira*, and Count *Schomberg*, with the Loss of 4000 Men, and obliged to return to *England*.

THIS unfortunate Expedition rendered *Buckingham* A. D. more disagreeable to the People; who were, at the ^{1628.} same Time, more disgusted with the King, because he had imprisoned many Gentlemen for refusing the Loan, and denied them the Benefit of their *Habeas-Corpus*, which is the Right of every *Englishman* committed for any Crime, unless that of Felony or Treason. But, as the King was obliged to call a Parliament to supply the Deficiencies of the Loan, he thought proper to release the imprisoned Gentlemen, who were 78 in all, and he had the Mortification to see 27 of them elected Members.

THE Parliament met on the 17th of *March*; when the King thought it great Condescension to declare, that, though he had other Ways of raising Money, he was very willing to follow the old Method of demanding a Supply from Parliament: But the Commons seemed determined to grant no Supply till the national Grievances were redressed. They complained of the Loan, and the manner of exacting it, as contrary to *Magna Charta*, and all the other fundamental Laws of the Land: They petitioned against billeting

of

A. D. of Soldiers: Yet they granted five Subsidies. After 1628. this both Houses presented to the King, the *Petition of Right*; which was so termed, because it was pretended not to desire of the King any Grace or Favour; but only the Maintenance of the Liberties of the Subject. Several Messages passed between the King and Commons on this Occasion: But the Commons persevered and succeeded. They grounded their Rights on the Statute of *Edward the First*, commonly called *Statutum de Tallagio non condecendo*; and the Statute of the 25th of *Edward the Third*, whereby no Tax, Tollage, Aids, or Loans, are to be raised without Consent of Parliament: They claimed the Liberties of *Magna-Charta*, and of the Statute of the 28th of *Edward the Third*. The King at first artfully evaded the redressing of such Grievances, which would be too great an Impediment to any arbitrary Measures that his Ministers might recommend; but, at last, he made a satisfactory Answer, by confirming these *Rights*, though he never regulated his Conduct by what was contained in the Petition.

THE Commons then continued their Proceedings against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and remonstrated against the unlawful Exaction of Tonnage and Poundage. Some Jesuits were taken into Custody; while Indulgence was shewn to Recusants. Papists were readmitted into the Council, and *Arminians* favoured at Court: So that the Parliament and People were alike jealous of the King.

THE Town of *Rochel* was now closely besieged by the *French King*; and the *Rochelers*, who lately refused any Succour from the *English*, had petitioned *Charles* for Assistance: On which Occasion he prepared a Fleet to relieve it, commanded by *Buckingham*. The Duke was at *Portsmouth* to hasten the Preparations; but, as he was going to embark, he was stabbed to the Heart with a Knife, and immediately died. The Assassin was Lieutenant *John Felton*, who gloried in the Murder; declaring, he looked upon the Duke as an Enemy to his Country: An Excess of Zeal led him to this wicked

wicked Action; for which he was executed at *Tyburn*, A. D. and hung in Chains at *Portsmouth*. 1628.

THE King greatly regretted the Loss of his Favourite; and permitted the Earl of *Lindsay* to proceed to the Aid of *Rochel*; who, after some gallant, but ineffectual Attempts, returned to *England*, and the *Rocbelers* to the Obedience of the *French* King. After this, a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, by the Mediation of the Republic of *Venice*. Indeed, this War was began without any Foundation, was carried on without any Spirit, and was ended without any Advantage to either Party: To which soon followed a Peace between *England* and *Spain*.

THE Parliament met on the 10th of *January*, and A. D. the Commons fell upon Matters of Religion, particu- 1629. larly with regard to *Arminianism*; protesting, that any Person who should extend *Popery* or *Arminianism*; or should advise, or act, in taking of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Parliament, should be reputed a capital Enemy to the State. The next Day, Sir *John Elliot*, *Denzil Hollis*, *William Coriton*, and *Benjamin Valentine*, Esqrs. were committed to the *Tower* by the Council. The King dissolved the Parliament on the 10th of *March*, after he had taken upon him to adjourn it before; which Right of Adjournment was never assumed by any King before his Father. This Dissolution of the Parliament was a Punishment which concerned the whole Nation, rather than the Representatives, among whom his Majesty told the Lords there were some Vipers, whom he would cause to be punished for their undutiful and seditious Carriage. The Opinion of the Judges was taken concerning some Questions relative to the imprisoned Members; though Judge *Whitelock* highly complained against this Way of sending to the Judges for their Opinions before-hand, and said, that if Bishop *Laud* went on in this Way, he would kindle a Flame in the Nation. By Virtue of these Determinations, the Attorney-General exhibited in the *Star-Chamber* an Information against the imprisoned Members, who were fined in large Sums, and sentenced

A. D. sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's Plea-
1629. sure.

THE People were so much discontented, that Mur-
murs were heard in all Places, and Libels were dis-
persed against the Council, particularly Bishop *Laud*,
and the Lord-Treasurer *Weston*, who were accused of
putting the King upon these violent Proceedings :
Upon which a Declaration was published, to notify to
the People the Causes of the Dissolution of the last Par-
liament, and to vindicate the Conduct of the King :
While it was publickly said, that Trade was ruined,
Religion endangered, and the Kingdom going to be
enslaved. The Privy-Council, the Star-Chamber, the
High-Commission, and the Courts of Law, were all
devoted to the King, and omitted no Opportunity to
support his Prerogative. The Parliament only could
cure these Disorders : But the King was determined to
call no more, as the Maxims of the Parliament were
diametrically opposite to his own : Though the Nation,
in general, was more inclined to be ruled by the Par-
liament, than by the Court, which produced fatal Ef-
fects. In the mean Time, as the ordinary Revenues
were not sufficient to support the Expences of the
Crown, the Ministers, after causing the Militia to be
armed, rigorously exacted the Duty of Tonnage and
Poundage, which had been greatly deficient of what
it formerly produced : Money was also raised, by an-
other Composition with Recusants, and by a Commission
for confirming defective Titles : But the most was raised
by granting Monopolies, which were very numerous,
and extended even to the Sale of old Rags. This was
highly detrimental to Trade : So that Lord *Clarendon*
observes, " Unjust Projects of all Kinds, many ridicu-
lous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on
Foot ; the Envy and Reproach of which came to the
King, the Profit to other Men ; insomuch, that of
200,000*l.* drawn by these Ways in one Year, scarce
1500*l.* came to the King."

A. D. *LAUD*, now Bishop of *London*, was a great Opposer
1630. of Presbyterianism, or as it was then called Puritanism,
which

which had lately gained Ground in *England*; notwithstanding the Ministers had endeavoured to stop its Progress: But *Laud* afterwards felt the Resentment of the Puritans. This Year the King had the Satisfaction of having a Son called *Charles*, of whom the Queen was delivered the 29th of *May*. The Marquis of *Hamilton* was sent with 6000 Men to assist *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, in relieving *Germany*, which was then oppressed by the Emperor: But these Troops were soon recalled; because his *Swedish* Majesty shewed no Inclination for recovering the *Palatinate*, and assisting the King of *Bohemia*, Brother-in-Law to *Charles*, who was obliged to live in a private Manner in *Holland*.

MERVIN, Lord *Audley*, Earl of *Castlehaven*, on the 14th of *May*, was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, for a Rape committed upon his Wife by one of his Servants, with his Assistance; and for Sodomy.

THE old Prerogative Statute of *Edward II* for Knighthood, had been put into Execution at the beginning of this Reign, whereby those who had 40*l.* a year were summoned to take Knighthood, which was an ancient Custom from the Conquest, that obliged such Persons to serve the King in his Wars, or to compound for their Service. Multitudes were summoned upon this Occasion, and the Compositions brought King *Charles* above 100,000*l.* but this was looked upon afterwards as a grievous Oppression, and the Parliament repealed the Statute on which it was grounded. The King also obtained several considerable Sums, by the Fines imposed in the *Star-Chamber*, in a very arbitrary Manner; particularly on the City of *London*, and the Recorder of *Salisbury*. He gained over some of the disaffected Members to his Interest; among whom were Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Knight of the Shire for *York*, who was created Viscount *Wentworth*, made Lord President of the *North*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*. This Gentleman had given several Proofs of his Zeal for the Liberties of the People, and the Privileges of Parliament: He now became a strong Promoter of the Royal Authority, and was afterwards made Earl of *Strafford*; but

212 A NEW HISTORY

A. D. but his Attachment to the King brought him to the
1632. Scaffold.

A. D. 1633. THE King having governed three or four Years without a Parliament, began to find his Will gradually to pass for a Law : So that, believing his Affairs in a very quiet Situation, he took a Journey in *May* to *Scotland*, and was crowned at *Edinburgh*, where he held a Parliament, which granted him a large Subsidy. The King intended entirely to ruin Presbyterianism, by reducing the Kirk of *Scotland* to a perfect Conformity with the Church of *England*; in which Bishop *Laud* was his principal Adviser and Assistant : But they were disappointed in their Views, which were the principal Cause of the Miseries and Ruin of the unhappy *Charles the First*. The Reformation was established in *Scotland*, by public Authority, in 1566, upon the Plan of the Churches of *Geneva* and *Switzerland*: for, though the *English* owed their Reformation to their Bishops, the *Scotch* Prelates always opposed such an Alteration of Religion. On this Account the Hierarchy was suppressed in *Scotland*; the Government of the Church committed to Presbyters, and national Synods, called General Assemblies. But the Bishops were continued in their Temporalities till *James the First* ascended the Throne of *England*, when he restored Episcopacy in *Scotland*, by giving the Bishops their ancient Jurisdiction over the Church. This Innovation was confirmed by *Charles*; and the *Scotch* grew jealous of his Intentions. It was the Interest of the King to preserve Episcopacy, as he was sure of the Bishops Votes in Parliament: But Episcopal Government was odious to the whole Nation.

THE Kirk of *Scotland* has 890 Parishes under its Government, each of which is divided, in Proportion to its Extent, into particular Districts, and every District has its own ruling Elders and Deacon: The Whole being divided into Sixty-nine Presbyteries, each consisting of from Twelve to Twenty-four contiguous Parishes. A Consistory of Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, is called a Kirk-Session: And the Ministers of those

those Parishes, with one ruling Elder, chose half-yearly A. D. out of every Kirk-Session, compose a Presbytery ; from 1633. whence Appeals lie to provincial Synods, which are composed of several adjacent Presbyteries, and are Fifteen in all. Each Synod meets twice a Year, at the principal Town of its Bound ; and their Acts are subject to the Review of the General Assembly, which is the dernier Resort of the Kirk of *Scotland*. This General Assembly consists of Commissioners from Presbyteries, Royal Burghs, and Universities : It meets once a Year at *Edinburgh*, and the King appoints them a Lord High Commissioner, who represents his Majesty.

JAMES had begun to re-establish Episcopacy, and *Charles* endeavoured to abolish Presbytery. It threw the *Scotch* Nation into a Flame ; and, in a few Years, it burst out with such Violence as to abolish Episcopacy, and threaten the Extinction of Royalty in that Kingdom, which was actually done in *England* ; and all resulted from these misguided Motives of the King, who returned to *England* in *July*, where the Puritans were more openly persecuted than in *Scotland*. *Laud* was now promoted to the See of *Canterbury* ; and the Queen was delivered of a second Son, who was called *James*, and created Duke of *York* : While the Puritans strengthened their Party, by spreading a Report that the Court intended to restore Popery, which succeeded at last beyond their Expectations ; as it was meant to strengthen their Party, and to cast a Reproach upon the Church of *England* : But what they principally could complain of was the removing of the Communion-Tables, from the Body of the Churches, to the Place where the Altar formerly stood. *Laud* lost his Head on the Scaffold : The Monarchy was overthrown, and the King came to a tragical End in its Fall : Nor were the Monarchy and Church restored to their former Splendor, without the wonderful Interposition of Providence.

THE Court looked upon all those Persons as Puritans, A. D. who would not shew Submission enough to the King, 1621. or would not allow sufficient Extent to his Prerogative ; and

A. D. and, by oppressing them as such, or by refusing them 3634. all Kinds of Employments, engaged them unavoidably to turn to the Presbyterians: So that most of the Nation became nominally, though not really so; and waited with Impatience for a Parliament, where they were almost sure of finding Protectors.

ENGLAND was now in profound Peace, and almost wholly unconcerned in what passed Abroad; but was strangely divided by domestic Affairs, which singly may appear of little Consequence; though when put together, they will shew the Causes of that terrible Revolution, of which the Lord *Clarendon* has elegantly and judiciously given the History.

MR. *William Prynne*, a Barrister of *Lincoln's-Inn*, had wrote and published a Book, called *Histrio Mafix*; with a Design to shew, that Stage-plays, Balls, and Masques, were unlawful and Antichristian. These Entertainments were then common at Court, and disapproved of by the Presbyterians: The Author reflected on the Court and the Church; for which he was summoned before the *Star-Chamber*, where his Book was ordered to be burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman, a Thing till then unusual in *England*; himself sentenced to be set on the Pillory, have his Ears cut off, imprisoned during Life, and fined 5000*l.* Besides, *Michael Sparkes*, the Printer and Publisher of the Book was also fined 500*l.* and the Chaplain, who licensed it, 500*l.*

THE King had intimated to his Parliament, that he could find Money without their Assistance: Though, by granting the *Petition of Right*, he bound himself to the contrary. However, he wanted Money to protect the Coast from Pirates; and his Attorney-General, *Noy*, furnished him with a Way to raise an extraordinary Supply, without the Concurrence of the Parliament; which was, by imposing a Tax upon the People, under Colour of maintaining a certain Number of Ships to guard the Seas. The King prosecuted this Advice: But it lost him the Confidence of his People, and was one other of the principal Causes of his Ruin.

THE

THIS Affair of *Ship-Money* became as popular, as it A. D. was arbitrary, and was as honestly opposed by Men of 1634. patriotic Spirit. The Writs for levying a Tax to provide and maintain a certain Number of Ships to guard the Seas, was first imposed only upon the Maritime Towns, which then, gave great Offence: But these Writs were extended all over the Kingdom, for equipping Forty-five Ships for the Year 1636, on a Pretence that the Nation was endangered by a League lately concluded between *France* and the *Low Countries*. As this Tax was imposed only by Virtue of the Prerogative, it was refused to be paid by several private Persons, and brought in little more than 200,000*l.* though the King expected a much larger Sum; yet, as it was one Means of affording him a settled Revenue, he resolved to support his Project at any Rate. To make this Tax of *Ship-Money* more eligible; he added, to his former Pretence, that of Preserving the Dominion of the Narrow- Seas. Upon this Occasion he quarrelled with the *Dutch*, who had long fished for Herrings on the Coast of *Scotland*; which Quarrel produced the two famous Treatises, entitled, *Mare liberum*, and *Mare clausum*; the former wrote by *Grotius* for the States, and the latter by *Selden* for *Charles*, who sent the Earl of *Northumberland* with a Fleet, to disperse the *Dutch* Fishermen, and obliged them to give 30,000*l.* for Permission to continue their Fishing that Summer.

THE King had artfully obtained the Sanction of the Judges for raising *Ship-Money*; and thought himself sufficiently authorized to prosecute such Persons as refused to pay it: But *John Hampden*, Esq; a *Buckinghamshire* Gentleman, had that true patriot Spirit of an old *Englishman*, to refuse paying the Tax, and to insist it was illegal; as also to stand the Shock of a Trial against the King, and the declared Opinion of the Judges. This virtuous, public-spirited Man, was rated only at twenty Shillings; and, rather than pay that small Sum, in Prejudice to the Rights of his Countrymen, he chose to stand in the Gap, and expose himself to all the Resentment of an exasperated Ministry. Small as the Sum was, the Case was the most important of any, that ever

A. D. ever had been brought before a Court of Judicature: 1634. it was to determine, whether the King had Power to Tax the Subject without Concurrence of Parliament; and whether the People were obliged to pay Taxes imposed in that Manner. It came on in the Exchequer-Chamber, before all the Judges of *England*. The most eminent Council were employed on both Sides: those for the King chiefly insisted, upon the Possibility of such sudden and unforeseen Cases, as would not afford Time to call a Parliament: and the Council for Mr. *Hampden* maintained, that the King ought to call a Parliament, and demand a Supply for all extraordinary occasions; for which they pleaded express Laws, *Magna Charta*, the subsequent Statutes, and the *Petition of Right*. The Cause was argued several Days, and Judgment was given against Mr. *Hampden*, who was condemned to pay the Sum he was taxed at; though Judge *Hutton*, and Judge *Crooke*, gave their Opinions against the King. From thenceforth, no one would have Recourse to the Law, which was prostituted to the Will of Power: But, in 1641, when the Parliament had more Power than the King, the Judgment against Mr. *Hampden* was cancelled, and Ship-Money abolished by the Royal Assent.

LAUD, being promoted to the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*, was more than ever rigid against the Presbyterians. His Labours were not confined to the Conversion of the Scotch and English Puritans: But he wanted to compel the Dutch, *Walloon*, and French Refugees to conform to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*; which occasioned Thousands of Families to transport themselves to *North-America*, where they settled the Colony of *New-England*; and about 140 Families of Refugees went into *Holland*, where they taught the Dutch how to manage the Woollen Manufacture, to the great Disadvantage of the Trade of *England*. The Court of High-Commission acted with great Severity against those who disregarded what was prescribed by the Church; and the *Star-Chamber* as rigidly supported the Royal Authority; for Mr. *Prynn*, Dr. *Bastwick*, and Mr.

Burton, a Lawyer, Physician, and Divine, were fined A. D. 5000*l.* a Piece, lost their Ears in the Pillory, and were ^{1634.} to be imprisoned for writing against Episcopacy, which gave great Offence to the Gentlemen of their Profession, and to all others.

THE Attempt to reduce the Kirk of *Scotland* to a A. D. Conformity with the Church of *England* was begun, ^{1637.} by sending a new Liturgy to *Edinburgh*, with an Order to be read in the Churches: But the Populace opposed it with great Tumults and Execrations.

It was not only the Rabble of *Scotland* that opposed A. D. the new Liturgy; but Persons of all Ranks and Orders ^{1638.} joined in the Opposition. The Magistrates expressed their Dislike, and the Nobility petitioned against it: They erected Courts, which they called *Tables*, to manage their Affairs; and entered into the famous *Covenant*, or *General-Band*, taken by the *Scots*, for the Maintenance of their Religion from all Innovations. This *Covenant* was a Confirmation of the Confession of Faith of 1580, and was offered to all Sorts of Persons to sign; who bound themselves by Oath, to maintain Religion as it was in 1580, and to reject all the Innovations introduced into the Church. The People now looked upon the *Covenant* as the sole Law, and it was subscribed by almost all the Nation: So that the Standard of Rebellion was in a Manner erected.

THE King sent the Marquis of *Hamilton* into *Scotland*, as his High Commissioner; imagining this Nobleman would reduce the People to Obedience: But he found himself mistaken, and gave Order for revoking the Liturgy, the High Commission, the Book of Canons, and the five Articles of *Pertb*, made by King *James*. The general Assembly met at *Glasgow*, and the Abolition of Episcopacy was proposed: Upon which the High Commissioner dissolved the Assembly: But the Members continued the Session by their own Authority, and made several Acts for their own Security.

THE King assembled an Army at *York*, to invade *Scotland*, consisting of 19,614 Men, besides 5000 on ^{1639.} Board the Fleet. The *Scots* also raised an Army; and,

A. R. by their Conduct, artfully made the *English* believe they 1659. took Arms for their own Defence, without intending to open a Rebellion. The King was at the Head of the *English* Army; and the *Scotch* Army was commanded by General *Lesley*: But both acted defensively upon the Borders, and the Malecontents petitioned for a Pacification.

THE *English* Army was superior to the *Scotch*; and the *Covenanters* agreed to lay down their Arms, without obtaining the Abolition of Episcopacy: Though the King agreed to a free Parliament, and an Assembly of the Clergy. The Earl of *Traquair*, who had been one of the principal *Covenanters*, was appointed High Commissioner by the King, instead of *Hamilton*, who prudently declined that Office. The Earl of *Montrose*, imagining the King had gone far enough to redress the *Scottish* Grievances, became one of his most zealous Subjects, and was afterwards the Champion of his Crown and Dignity: Whereby it seems, that it was popular Rage in *Scotland* that affected the King; who disbanded his Army: But the *Scotch Covenanters* kept theirs on Foot, and voted Episcopacy to be unlawful in *Scotland*.

A. D. 1640. THE Earl of *Essex* was the only General Officer who had done any Service against the *Scotch*, and was beloved by all the *English* Nation; yet he had *Laud* for his Enemy, and that Prelate had so much the Ascendant over the King, that he directed his Conscience; while *Wentworth*, now made Earl of *Strafford*, influenced his Judgment; and *Hamilton* had a Sway in the Cabinet. The *Scotch* were still disaffected; and *Strafford* obtained the King a large Sum of Money by a voluntary Subscription: but this was a dangerous Expedient, as it made him too independent of the *English* Parliament, which it was now found necessary to assemble.

THIS Parliament, distinguished by the Name of the *Long Parliament*, met on the 13th of *April*; and continued till the 20th of *April* 1653, when it was violently dissolved by the Army. All the Counties in *England* poured in Petitions against *Ship-Money*, *Monopolies*,

ties, Projects ; the *Star-Chamber*, the High-Commission Court, and the like Grievances. Many Gentlemen distinguished themselves as Lovers of their Country, who were so far from being disaffected to the King, that they afterwards shewed themselves his best Subjects, and sealed his Cause with their Blood. The Danger of Religion united them all in the Preservation of Liberty : They divided the public Grievances into three Classes ; Matters of Religion, Property of Goods, and Liberty of Parliament ; which so much displeased the King, that he dissolved the Parliament soon after it assembled.

THE King had 300,000*l.* advanced by Subscriptions, and levied another Army to oppose the Scotch Malecontents, whose very Women stript themselves of their Jewels to carry on, what they called, *the Holy War* : While the King employed the whole Force of Prerogative in raising Money. The English Army, consisting of 22,000 Men, assembled at Newcastle, under the Command of the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Strafford, and Lord Conway. The Scotch Army, consisted of 25,000 Men, commanded by the Earl of Montrose and General Lesley, who, on the 20th of August, passed the Tweed, and entered England ; justifying this Invasion by a Manifesto, and declaring their Intention to pass through England in the most amicable Manner ; with the Sword in one Hand, and their Petition in the other, which they intended most humbly to present to his Majesty. Lord Conway made a feint Opposition at Newburn, with a few Troops, against Lesley, who forced the Passage of the Tyne, and took Possession of Newcastle : While the King and the Earl of Strafford arrived at York, where the Army assembled, after it retired from Newcastle, and made a fine Appearance. The King summoned a Council of the English Peers ; and the Scotch Leaders petitioned his Majesty to grant them their Proposals for settling a Peace. The great Council of the Peers assembled at York, on the 24th of September, and the Treaty of Rippon was opened with the Scotch, who got it removed to London, and made the River Tees the Boundary for both Parties ; the

A. D. Scotch Army being allowed a Contribution of 850. a
1640. Day for their Maintenance.

UPON this Ceſſation of Arms, the King returned to London, and re-assembled the former Parliament. Strafford was now as much the Object of popular Detestation, as Buckingham had been, and the Commons could be ſatiated with nothing leſs than his Blood, as they conſidered him the Fountain of National Grievances, and dreaded his great Abilities. They accused him of High-Treafon, and the Peers committed him to the Cuftry of the Black-Rod. The Earl of Strafford was blamed for his Government in Ireland: Though, in Fact, he was the beſt Governor that ever had been in that Kingdom, where he had Interēſt enough to raise an Army to aſſiſt the King againſt the Scotch. Archbiſhop Laud was accused of High-Treafon ſoon after, and committed to the Black-Rod; being charged as the Promoter of all the detestable Projects and Monopolies, that had been ſo oppreſſive to the Subjects. Se-cretary Windebank, and Lord-Keeper Finch, were also accused of High-Treafon; the former, for favouring Priests and Papists; and the latter for adviſing arbitrary Meaſures. The Archbiſhop and the Earl lost their Lives: But the Lord-Keeper and Se-cretary preſerved theirs by flying abroad. To complete the Misfortunes of these two Miſtiers, a ſtrong Remonſtrance had been drawn up againſt them by the Scotch Commissioners, as being the two principal Agents, who had endeavoured to ſubvert the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Liberty of Scotland: The Englifh Commons complained of Archbiſhop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, as the Authors of their greatest Grievances; and their Imprisonment had more eſſe-ually plucked the Sting from Prerogative, than all the Oppoſitions and Resolutions of former Parliaments had ever been able to eſſect: But the Pride of both Prelate and Miſtior might have been humbled, and their Practices puniſhed, without deſtroying their Persons. The Earl of Strafford was brought to his Trial before his Peers in Westminſter-Hall, on the 22d of March 1641, where the Earl of Arundel preſided as Lord-High-Steward,

Steward, and many Articles were exhibited against the A. D. Prisoner, whose Trial was the most superb that ever ^{1640.} happened in *Europe*. The capital Crime urged against him by the Commons, was instilling arbitrary Principles into the King; and they prosecuted their Charge with great Eloquence, and as much Virulence; which the Earl opposed with amazing Fortitude, and Abilities that did Honour to human Nature. The Commons also brought in a Bill of Attainder against the Earl, whereby they seemed to drop the Character of Prosecutors for that of Judges; and they voted him guilty of Treason. The King interposed with the Parliament in Behalf of his Favourite Minister, whom he said, "In his Conscience, he could not condemn of High-Treason, nor could he clear him of Misdemeanor;" but this mistaken Mercy had a fatal Effect: For the riotous Mob clamoured out, "If they could not get the Life of the Lord-Lieutenant, they would have that of the King." At last, the unhappy Earl was attainted by his Peers, "For levying Money in *Ireland* by Force;" And the King very reluctantly assented to pass the Act, which doomed to Death a Minister whom he loved, esteemed, and believed innocent. This Attainder prevented the King from pardoning the Criminal, and he pathetically addressed his Parliament, in a Letter, to shew Mercy to the Earl, by sparing his Life, and keeping him in perpetual Imprisonment: But this Letter hastened the Fate of the Earl, who was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, on the 12th of *May*, where he behaved with great Piety and Fortitude. His Death fate as heavy upon the Heart of *Charles*, as that of the Earl of *Essex* had done upon *Elizabeth*; and, with his Minister, he lost his Royalty. But the Trial of Archbishop *Laud* was deferred till the Year 1644, at which Time Episcopacy began to be as much despised in *England* as in *Scotland*. The unhappy Prelate had been stript of all his Estate and Goods by the Violence of the anti-royal Faction. He was accused of endeavouring to establish arbitrary Power, to introduce Popery, and subvert the Rights of Parliament; for which he was attainted, and beheaded, in the 72d

A. D. Year of his Age ; behaving with the Sanctity of a ^{1640.} Divine, and the Courage of a Hero. He had a Pardon from the King : But the Parliament held it to be insufficient ; and sacred Royalty was now divested of Power, soon to fall a Sacrifice to bloody Enthusiasm.

A. D. THE Fate of *Strafford*, terrified the other Ministers ^{1641.} of State, and many of them made a voluntary Resignation of their Offices. Some great Men, who afterwards lost their Blood and Fortunes in the Royal Cause, thought that Sentiments of Liberty were not incompatible with those of Loyalty : That a King of *England* could be great, only by ruling over a free People : And that the People could be no longer free than the King was great : But they believed that the King had false Notions of Royal Power ; though he had naturally as good plain Sense as any Man in his Kingdom. The King professed to his Parliament, that he was for the Reformation, but not for the Alteration of Government, both in Church and State : So that every Thing should be put on the same Footing as in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Commons wanted a triennial Parliament, to render those Assemblies less precarious, and more frequent : They examined into every Thing that had the Appearance of a Grievance : They called the *Scatch, Brethren* ; whom the King had termed *Rebels* : And they now become dreadful in their Turn. The triennial Bill was passed into a Law, and several Acts were made for abolishing the *Star-Chamber*, and the High Commission Court ; for vacating all Records about Ship Money, preventing Complaints against Forest Bounds, and other Grievances : But they granted the King Tonnage and Poundage. They were now for reforming the episcopal Order, and afterwards for having it abrogated ; which so far intimidated the Bishops, as to make them give up their Rights to sit as Judges in Cases of Blood. They also infatuated the King, and made him unkink himself, by passing an Act that the Parliament should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by its own Consent ; which made the Parliament perpetual ; and as virtually took all Power from the King, as had been

been done to his equally unhappy Predecessor, *Richard A. D. the Second.*

1641.

NOTHING could now withstand the Fury of the *Faction*, who declared it was necessary to have the Abolition of Episcopacy, that the two Kingdoms might be more strongly united: But, as the King had made every Concession that was desired, and more than could have been expected, those who had real Patriotism in their Hearts were satisfied, and intended to go no farther. Neither Army was yet disbanded, and they both cost the Nation prodigious Sums of Money. Lord *Digby*, Lord *Falkland*, Mr. *Hyde*, and others, now saw they had gone too far in loading their Country with great Calamities, and they resolved to retain their Loyalty to the King; who had also the Earl of *Montrose* for his Friend in *Scotland*, and his Majesty set out for that Kingdom on the 10th of *August*.

THIS was the Rise of those Troubles which made *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, so many grand Theatres of intestine War, bloody Confusion, and savage Barbarity. The Land-Marks of the Constitution were now fixed: But this was not sufficient for the turbulent *Faction*, who wanted to destroy both the Names and Power of Royalty and Episcopacy together. The King was dutifully received by the Generals of the *Scotch* Army at *Newcastle*: But the Earl of *Argyle* was at the Head of the *Covenanters* in *Scotland*, and prevented the Marquis of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Montrose* from assisting the King, according to their Inclinations, who returned to *London* on the 25th of *November*, when he met with a dutiful and affectionate Reception from the Citizens.

WHILE his Majesty resided in *Scotland*, the most bloody Rebellion that History has ever recorded broke out in *Ireland*, where the dreadful Effects of Popery operated as violently as those of Presbytery in *England*. The civil and ecclesiastical Establishment in *Ireland*, were in the Hands of Protestants: But the Parliament was filled by Papists, and Popery was the general Religion of the Country. There was nothing that a Peo-

A. D. ple could desire, either as to Indulgence of Religion, or
1641. Security of Property, which was not now enjoyed by
 the *Irish*: But the bloody Voice of their Priests prompted
 their weak Followers to a Rebellion against the Government, and a general Massacre of the Protestants.
 The Lord *Macguire*, Sir *Phelim O'Neile*, *Roger More*,
 Colonel *Plunket*, and some others, were engaged in this
 Conspiracy; being encouraged with a Message from
Tyrone, which filled them with Assurances of Assistance
 from Cardinal *Richlieu*, the Prime-Minister of *France*.
 The Conspirators were to seize upon all the Castles in
 the Kingdom; and were so barbarously punctual to their
 respective Appointments, that, during three Months of
 that bitter Winter, no less than 150,000 Protestants
 were put to Death in cold Blood by Papists, who practised
 all the Arts of Cruelty and Butchery on Men,
 Women, and Children: But they were not successful
 in *Dublin*, where *Macguire* and thirty others were seized.
 The Earl of *Liecester* was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*;
 but was then in *England*; and the whole standing Army,
 in the former Kingdom, was only 3000 Men. The
 King was desirous of sending Troops to relieve his *Irish*
 Subjects; and the *English* Parliament voted Men, Ships,
 and Supplies for that Purpose. But *More*, the principal
 Conspirator, counterfeited the broad Seal of *Ireland*,
 and artfully affixed it to a forged Commission from the
 King, authorising the Rebellion: Which occasioned
 some Reflections upon his Majesty; though he offered
 to go in Person and reduce the Rebels, who were feintly
 opposed by the weak Succours sent from *England*.

A. D. As the Queen was a *Roman Catholic*, it made the
1642. King many Enemies. He was pursued by the *fanatic*
 Party as giving too great Countenance to Papists; and,
 by the Papists, for not giving them enough. The Po-
 pish Recusants had too much Toleration; and Count
Rozetti resided at *London* as a public Agent from *Rome*;
 the Queen having prevailed upon the King to receive
 this Agent as a Sort of *Nuncio*; by which, and by the
 avowed Protection she afforded those of her Religion,
 she drew upon herself the public Hatred. But the
 King

King was far from being a Papist ; nor was ever accused of being one, except by Men of very warm and ^{A. D. 1642.} passionate Tempers. He was now greatly mortified to find the Commons had declared every Thing illegal, which he had been attempting for fifteen Years together. The Plot to gain the Army to declare for him, whether real or imaginary, was very prejudicial to his Affairs ; as from hence flowed all the ensuing Proceedings of the King and Parliament. Moderate Men would have stopt their Opposition to the King, after obtaining a Redress of Grievances : But the Presbyterian Party were determined to subvert Episcopacy and Monarchy.

THE Lives of the Bishops were endangered by the Mob as they were going to the Parliament. Twelve Bishops presented a Protestation to the King and Peers, on this Occasion, which the Commons voted High-Treason, as it endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and very Being of Parliaments : Whereupon, ten of the Bishops were committed to the Tower : While the King refused to execute seven *Romish* Priests, who had been legally condemned ; and the Presbyterians aimed at the Destruction of the Church of *England*.

WHILE Things were in this Situation, the King took a most imprudent and unseasonable Step, by sending Sir *Edward Herbert*, Attorney-General, to the House of Peers ; informing them, that the King had commanded him to accuse of High-Treason, the Lord *Kimbolton*, and five Commoners, namely, *Denzil Hollis*, *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, *John Pym*, *John Hampden*, and *William Stroud*, Esqrs. At the same Time, he delivered the seven general Articles of Impeachment, given him by the King with his own Hand ; charging the Members with endeavouring to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Kingdom. Innumerable Difficulties must attend such an Accusation, especially as the five Commons were the leading Men in that House ; and the King, in accusing them, properly accused the whole House of Treason.

THE King undertook this Proceeding by the Ad-

A. D. vice of Lord *Digby*, who was then his chief Counsel.
1642. lor ; and, the next Day, his Majesty, attended with a Guard, came to the House of Commons, with an Intention to seize the five Members, who were immediately ordered to make their Escape. The King seated himself in the Speaker's Chair, and made a Speech to the House, wherein he demanded the accused Members ; and said, that in Cases of Treason, no Person had a Privilege. As soon as the King was gone, the Members cried out, Privilege ! Privilege ! They voted that the King had violated *their Privileges*, and adjourned the House, after appointing a Committee to sit at *Guildhall*. The same Day, the King went to *Guildhall*, and addressed himself to the Common-Council, demanding the accused Members, whom he believed were secreted in the City : But the Citizens, in a Petition which they presented to the King, plainly shewed they were more inclined to the Parliament than to him. His Majesty published a Proclamation, for all Magistrates to apprehend the accused Members, and send them to the *Tower* : But the Commons resolved, that the publishing the Articles against those Members, was a seditious Act, tending to the Subversion of the Peace of the Kingdom. After which, the Commons returned to *Westminster* under a strong Guard of the Populace : But the King withdrew to *Hampton-Court* and *Windsor*, for fear of receiving some Affront from the Mob.

THE King repented of what he had done, and in some Measure confessed his Fault to the Parliament : But this was not a sufficient Means to oblige his Enemies to alter their Measures, after he had given them so great an Advantage over him. His Majesty offered to grant a general Pardon, and to preserve the Privileges of Parliament : But the real Aim of the Parliament was to oblige the King to take some new Step, that might render him more unpopular. It is certain, the Privileges of Parliament cannot extend to High-Treason : Yet it is also an undoubted Maxim, that no Member can be proceeded against without the Consent of his House ; and no King of *England*, before *Charles*, ever

ever came in Person to the House of Commons to apprehend any Members. The Commons ordered a Guard ^{1642.} to attend their House; and Lord *Digby* withdrew out of the Kingdom: So that every Thing manifestly tended to a Rupture; and *Ireland* was only assisted with 2500 *Scotch*.

Mr. *Pym*, in a Conference with the Lords and Commons, spoke many disrespectful Things of his Majesty, and charged him with granting Passports for some of the *Irish* Rebels; which the King resented; but the Commons said, Mr. *Pym* had spoke the Sense of their House. The King passed two Acts for the Exclusion of the Bishops, and for pressing of Soldiers: He consented to every Thing the Commons desired: Yet in vain: For the Resolution was taken to divest him of all his Prerogatives. The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, was like the Signal of a War prepared against him: Which made him desirous of securing the Town of *Hull*, where all the Arms belonging to the Forces lately disbanded in the North, were deposited as a Magazine: But the Parliament gave the Government of that Town to Sir *John Hotham*, ordered Colonel *Goring* to keep *Portsmouth*, and secured the Tower of *London*, by recommending Sir *John Conyers* to the Lieutenantcy. They wanted to be Masters of all the other Forts, and of the Militia, throughout the whole Kingdom; for which they petitioned his Majesty, who was unwilling to comply with such a Request, that would place all the Power of the Nation in the Hands of his Enemies.

His Majesty now found he must have Recourse to Arms; and his Design was to withdraw to *York*, to levy Troops, and seize *Hull*. He sent his Queen into *Holland* with the Crown Jewels, under Colour of conducting the Princess *Mary* her Daughter there, who had espoused the Prince of *Orange*; and then intimated his Intention of removing to *York*, to avoid the riotous Assemblies of the People of *London*. The Commons published an Ordinance for settling the Militia, and the King went to *Newmarket*; where they presented a De-

• D.claration to him, on the 9th of *March*, informing him, ^{1642.} they had many Fears and Jealousies, that the Papists had a Design of altering Religion in *England*; that they fomented the War with *Scotland*; and contriving the Rebellion in *Ireland*: They complained of his absenting himself from Parliament; of his accusing the five Members; and of a foreign Force expected for his Assistance: Concluding with a Desire, that he would dismiss his Counsellors, and return to his Parliament. Many other Declarations, Messages, Answers, and Replies, passed between the King and Parliament; which were only intended to amuse the People, while both Parties were taking all the Advantages they were able. The King swore, he would not entrust the Parliament with the Militia for an Hour; and a Reconciliation became impracticable: The Parliament rose the Militia; and the King retired to *York*.

ROBERT RICH, Earl of *Warwick*, was appointed Lord-Admiral of the Fleet by the Parliament; and the Militia was put into Hands who had no Dependence upon the King, though he insisted that he had the sole Right of appointing these Officers, which could not be denied him in the ordinary Course of Government: But the Parliament affirmed, it was incumbent on them, to see that the Kingdom should not perish by the Fault of the King; who asserted that the Parliament had undertaken to subvert the Constitution of Church and State; while the Parliament gave out, that the King wanted to render himself arbitrary, which they had a lawful Power to oppose. The Parliament removed most of the Magazine of *Hull* to the *Tower of London*; and the King, on the 23d of *April*, appeared before *Hull*, attended with his Guard, consisting of about 300 of his Servants and Gentlemen of the Country: But Sir *John Hotham*, the Governor, refused to admit his Majesty into the Town, and shut the Gates against him. The King proclaimed *Hotham* a Traitor, and returned to *York*, where he demanded Reparation of the Parliament for the Indignity shewn him by *Hotham*, whose Conduct was justified by the Commons.

ALL Confidence was now banished between the King

and Parliament, who made open Preparations to decide A. D. by the Sword, what they could not accomplish by the ^{1642.} Pen. This brought on that *Civil War* which drained the best Blood of the Nation, destroyed the King, and subverted the Government. The Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* were affected to his Majesty, and met him at *York*, on the 12th of *May*, when they appointed a Guard for the Security of his Person. Manifestoes were published by both Parties, each of whom strove to gain the People, who are chiefly wanted in a Civil War. The Parliament, on the 2d of *June*, sent the King nineteen Propositions for establishing a Peace; whereby they proposed, that the Privy-Council, and other Officers of State, should be chose by them; that the Laws against Papists should be put in Execution; that a Reformation should be made in the Church; that the Forts and Castles should be put under the Command of such Persons as should be approved of by them; that the Forces attending his Majesty should be discharged; and that the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of Peers should be discontinued. The King returned a long, but unsatisfactory Answer; and the Presbyterian Party succeeded in throwing the Kingdom into a Combustion.

THE Queen disposed of the Crown Jewels in *Holland*, to buy Arms for the King, which arrived safe in *Burlington* Bay; while the Parliament borrowed 11,000,000*l.* of the People, who brought in their Plate to compleat the Loan, and their own Ruin. This gave the Royalists a Pretence that the Parliament were the Aggressors; but they threw the whole Blame of the War on the King, who had an Army of 4000 Men, commanded by *Robert Bartu*, Earl of *Lindsey*; and the Parliament levied an Army under the Command of *Robert Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*, who had the same Power as *Robert-Fitzwalter* had over the Barons Army in the Reign of King *John*. The King marched to besiege *Hull*, but *Hotham* would not surrender it: While *Goring*, the Governor of *Portsmouth*, declared for the King, but was obliged to surrender the Town to the Parliament.

THE King declared both Houses guilty of High-Treason, and set up his Royal Standard at *Nottingham*, on the

A. D. 22d of *August*, but few People appeared in Arms for 1642. him ; while the Parliament had 5000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, at *Coventry*. The Princes *Rupert*, and *Maurice*, Brothers to the Elector Palatine, and Nephews to the King, came to *England* to serve their Uncle, who made Prince *Rupert* General of the Horse, quartered at *Leicester*. Proposals for Peace were vainly renewed, and all *England* was rising in Arms. Those on whom the Representations of the Parliament prevailed, were generally People of the midland Counties, and the Traders in the Southern Parts of the Kingdom, who had smarted most by the arbitrary Acts of Power. Those on whom the King's Representations prevailed, were generally his Subjects in the farthest Parts of the Nation, as *Wales*, *Cornwall*, and *Cumberland*, who had been least afflicted with any arbitrary Measures. The Parliament pretended they would treat of a Peace if his Majesty would take down his Standard, and recall those Declarations whereby his Majesty charged them with *Treason*. The King declared, that it was not the Body of the Parliament, but only the violent leading Members that were the Authors of the War : For that, of near 500 Members of the lower House, about 200 were driven away by Threats, or withdrew themselves out of Conscience : And that, of above 100 Peers, there remained only 15 or 16 in the upper House.

THE Tempest of War was now collected, and ready to break. It gave rise to the Distinction of Parties : The Royalists were called *Cavaliers* ; and the Parliamentarians were called *Roundheads* ; because it was the Custom of the Puritans to cut their Hair short to their Ears. The first Blood that was spilt in this unhappy Commotion, was near *Hull*, in which Sir *John Hotham* fellied out on a Party of the Royalists, some of whom he killed, and took others : But, on the 9th of *September*, the Earl of *Essex* led his Army from *London* to *Northampton*, where he found it to consist of 16000 Men, well armed and provided with a good Train of Artillery. This obliged the King to retire with his little Body of Men to *Shrewsbury*, which was a very convenient Place to expect the Troops that were levying for him in *Wales*,
• *Yorkshire*,

Yorkshire, and *Lancashire*. The Inhabitants of *Shrewsbury* gave the King a joyful Reception, on the 20th of ^{1642.} September, and the Number of Troops so considerably increased; that, in a few Days, he had an Army of 10,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse.

THE University of *Oxford* engaged to deliver to the King all the Plate belonging to the Colleges, which was sent to *Shrewsbury* to be coined, under the Convoy of Sir *John Byron*, who was met at *Worcester* by Prince *Rupert*. Colonel *Sandys*, with 500 Horse, was sent by the Earl of *Essex* to take Possession of *Worcester* just as Prince *Rupert* arrived there, who suddenly attacked and defeated this Party, at *Porwick-Bridge*, near *Worcester*; after which he escorted the *Oxford* Plate to *Shrewsbury*, while *Essex* possessed himself of *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Gloucester* and *Bristol*.

THE King, on the 12th of *October*, marched from *Shrewsbury* towards *London*; and the Earl of *Essex* began to follow him; so that the two Armies met between *Keinton* and *Edge-Hill* in *Warwickshire*, on the 23d, when an Engagement began about three in the Afternoon, wherein the King had the Advantage with his Horse, and *Essex* with his Foot. About 5000 Men were killed on both Sides, and each Party claimed the Victory. The principal Persons that fell among the King's Troops were the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Steuart*, the Lord *Aubigny* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Sir *Edmund Verney*, Standard-bearer: And the chief of those that perished on the Side of the Parliament, were the Lord *St. John of Bletsoe*, and Colonel *Charles Essex*.

AFTER the Battle of *Edge-Hill*, the King, instead of continuing his March to *London*, proceeded to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Essex*, instead of pursuing his Majesty, retired to *Warwick*. *Banbury Castle* surrendered to the King, who entered *Oxford* in a triumphant Manner, and then advanced towards *London*: But the Earl of *Essex* was in that Neighbourhood as soon as the King, where his Army was recruited by great Numbers of *London* Apprentices, whose Time spent in the Wars, was to be reckoned part of their Apprenticeship. The Parliament invited

A. D. invited the *Scotch* to grant them Assistance; especially 1642. as the Earl of *Newcastle*, was levying an Army in the North for the King: And a Proposition was made for uniting the two Churches of *England* and *Scotland*. The King was at *Colebrook*, within 15 Miles of *London*, on the 11th of *November*, when the Parliament petitioned him for Peace: but, as there was no Cessation of Arms, his Majesty defeated a Body of Troops at *Brentford*, and retired to *Kingston*; from whence he returned to *Oxford*, where he wanted to remove the Courts of Law, but was prevented by the Parliament, who sent Commissioners to *Oxford*, to treat of a Peace upon too insolent Terms to be accepted. Mr. *Waller*, the celebrated Poet, one of the finest Speakers in the House of Commons, and one of the most promising Gentlemen of the Nation, was among this Committee, and was graciously received by his Majesty, who knew that Mr. *Waller* was attached to him in his Heart, and was then contriving a Plot with some Citizens of *London*, in Favour of the King, but the Plot was unsuccessful, and afterwards cost Mr. *Waller* 10,000*l.* besides a Load of publick Reflections, and some of his Friends their Lives. The Discovery of this Plot occasioned Mr. *Pym* to frame a *Vow* and *Covenant*, to be taken by his Party, which would more effectually pull the Constitution to Pieces than any Thing that was hitherto done: For the *Covenanters* were to swear, that they would not lay down Arms while the Papists were in open War against the Parliament. This *Covenant* was taken by 159 Members, of the Commons, who devised a Method to circulate it all over the Kingdom, which was of great Advantage to their Party: But Mr. *Pym* died before he saw the Effect of his Scheme.

THE War dissipated itself all over the Kingdom. The Earl of *Newcastle* raised an Army of 8000 Men, for the King, in the Counties of *Durham*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*; where the Inhabitants entered into an *Association*, to furnish him at the common Expence, with Men and Money. The Parliament followed this Example in the Counties which owned

owned their Authority ; and appointed the Lord *Fairfax* A. D. General of *Yorkshire* ; Sir *William Brereton*, of *Cheshire* ;^{1642.} Sir *William Waller*, of *Hampshire* ; the Lord *Grey*, of *Lancashire* ; Major General *Brown*, of *Berkshire* ; the Earl of *Denbigh*, of *Shropshire* ; Colonel *Middleton*, of *Wales* ; the Earl of *Manchester*, of the Eastern Counties, being *Essex*, *Cambridge*, the Isle of *Ely*, *Hertford*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk* ; and the Earl of *Stamford* commanded in *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*. The Marquis of *Hertford* was employed by the King in *Wales*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton* in *Cornwall* ; so that many Skirmishes happened this Year in several Places. In the North, the Lord *Fairfax* obliged the Earl of *Newcastle* to retreat from *Tadcaster* : Sir *Hugh Cholmondeley* defeated 600 Loyalists, commanded by Colonel *Slingsby*, at *Gisborough* : And Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to the General, took *Leeds* by Storm, from Sir *William Saville*.

IN the South, Sir *William Waller* took *Farnham*, *Winchester*, and *Chichester* for the Parliament.

IN the Midland Counties, Lord *Digby* took *Marlborough* for the King, and Prince *Rupert* took *Cirencester* : Lord *Brooke* was slain at *Litchfield*, by the Royalists ; and Spencer *Compton*, Earl of *Northampton*, was slain by the Parliamentarians, at *Salt-Heath*, near *Stafford*.

SIR *William Waller* also obliged the Lord *Herbert* to raise the Siege of *Gloucester* : After which, he took *Chepstow*, and *Monmouth*.

BUT the War was sharpest in the Western Counties ; where Sir *Ralph Hopton* became Master of all *Cornwall* for the King.

BOTH the King and the Parliament demanded Contributions for the Maintenance of the War, which they^{1643.} termed voluntary, though they were very far from being so : But the Times were so distracted, that a strict Observance of the Law was become impracticable. Each Side pretended to act only on the Defensive : The King professing a strict Adherence to the Laws of the Land ; and the Parliament pretending they only wanted to reduce his Power within such Bounds as might secure the Liberties of the Nation.

A.D. THE Queen returned to *England*, and brought a large
 1643. supply of Arms to *York* from *Holland*, : But the King
 was disappointed in his Design of having *Bristol* surren-
 dered into his Hands, by the Interest of Mr. *Yeoman*, and Mr.
Bourchier, who were executed by the Governor. The
 Parliament sent Commissioners to *Oxford*, with Four-
 teen Propositions for a Peace ; the Principal of which
 were, that both Armies should be disbanded ; Delin-
 quents left to a legal Trial ; the Royal Assent given to
 several Bills for abolishing Episcopacy, and other re-
 ligious Matters ; the Militia to be settled by the Parlia-
 ment ; and the King to remove his Favourites : But
 the Parliament knew these Terms would be rejected by
 the King, whose Misfortune it was to prefer always the
 Opinions of others to his own ; and, as the Earl of *Bris-*
tol advised the Continuance of the War, his Majesty
 broke off the Conferences for a Peace, on the 15th of
 April.

PRINCE *Rupert* was sent with 1200 Horse, and 800
 Foot, to establish a Communication between *York* and
Oxford. He took *Birmingham* in his Way, but lost
William Fielding, Earl of *Denbigh*, who was a Volunteer
 in the Prince's Troop, and was mortally wounded in
 pursuing the Parliamentary Horse. The Prince then
 took *Litchfield* ; from whence he was recalled by the
 King, to raise the Siege of *Reading*, which was invested
 by the Earl of *Essex*, with an Army of 16000 Foot and
 3000 Horse. The King marched from *Oxford* to relieve
Reading, which was strong, and garrisoned by 4000
 Men : But Sir *Arthur Aston*, the Governor, being
 wounded, Colonel *Fielding* surrendered the Town ; while
 Sir *William Waller* continued his Conquest along the *Se-*
vern, and took *Hereford*, but was repulsed at *Worcester*.

AFTER the Surrender of *Reading*, the Parliament
 thought of besieging *Oxford*, where the King was in
 great Distress for want of warlike Stores : But the Earl
 of *Essex* was not capable of undertaking such a Siege,
 on account of a great Mortality among his Men. How-
 ever, he advanced to *Thame*, from whence Colonel *Hur-*
ry deserted to the King, and prevailed upon Prince *Ru-*
pert

per^t to make an Attempt upon some scattered Bodies of A. D. the Enemy. The Prince cut two Regiments in Pieces ^{1643.} at *Wickham*; but the Earl of *Essex* took this Alarm, and sent a Detachment to intercept the Prince in *Chaldgrave* Field. This was on the 24th of *June*, a Day memorable for the Death of the glorious Mr. *HAMBDEN*, who was Colonel of Foot, but mounted a Horse, as a Volunteer in the Regiment ordered to intercept the Prince, which began the Attack, and was put to Flight before the Earl of *Essex* could bring up the Foot. In this Action Mr. *Hambden* was shot in the Shoulder by a Pistol Ball, and eight Days after died of the Wound: Being a Person very eminent in his Party, both for his Courage as an Officer in the Army, and for his Capacity as a Member of Parliament. He opposed the King in Support of Liberty; for he had an invincible Distrust of *Charles*, which followed him to the Grave: But the King lamented his Misfortune, and sent his own Surgeons to attend him in his last Moments. Colonel *Gunter* was also slain; and the Prince returned to *Oxford* with 200 Prisoners, where he found the Queen had joined the King with 3000 Men, and a Supply of Arms from *York*: Upon which the Earl of *Essex* withdrew from *Oxfordshire*, and quartered his Troops in *Hertfordshire*.

THE Marquis of *Hertford*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, engaged Sir *William Waller*, on the 5th of *July*, at *Lansdown* near *Bath*, when they lost above 1500 of their Horse: But on the 13th they engaged him again, at *Roundway-Down* near the *Devizes*, when they defeated him with the Loss of 6000 of his Men. Prince *Rupert* was then sent to join Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and besiege *Bristol*, which was garrisoned with 2500 Foot, and two Regiments of Horse, under the Command of Colonel *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who surrendered the City so easily, that the Parliament had him condemned to die by a Council of War; which was what the King had done to Colonel *Fielding*, for surrendering *Reading*; and it is remarkable that the Articles of Capitulation were disregarded by the Besiegers at both Places; as also, that the King saved one of the Governors, and the Earl of *Essex* the other. The Prince, among his

A. D^r his Slain, lost the Lord *Grandison*, Sir *Nicholas Stanning*,
2643. and Colonel *Trevannion*.

THE Taking of *Bristol* infused fresh Hopes into the King, who was now resolved to besiege *Gloucester*, which would open a Communication from *Bristol* to *Shrewsbury*, and from thence to the North, by Means of *Lancashire*: Besides, it would secure him the Possession of *Wales*, where the Parliament would have had no Entrance, but by Sea. The King came before *Gloucester* on the 10th of *August*, with 8000 Men; but Colonel *Masey* made a brave Defence, 'till the Earl of *Essex*, with his recruited Army, came up, and obliged the King to raise the Siege. *Essex* then marched towards *London*, and the King sent Prince *Rupert* after him with 5000 Horse; who came up with the Earl as he was marching over *Auburn Chace*, intending that Night to reach *Newbury* in *Berkshire*; upon which a smart Conflict ensued, wherein the Marquis of *La Vieille*, a Frenchman, who served the King as a Voluntier, was killed: But *Essex* was obliged to Quarter at *Hungerford*; and, the next Day, continued his March towards *Newbury*, where the King arrived before him, and was rejoined by the Prince. The two Armies being close together, the Battle of *Newbury* began about Seven o'Clock in the Morning, on the 20th of *September*, and continued 'till Night put an End to it. Prince *Rupert*, as usual, performed Wonders with his Horse, which chiefly consisted of Gentlemen: But the Parliament's Infantry behaved with such Intrepidity, that the King retired, and left *Essex* Master of the Field: The former marching to *Oxford*, and the latter to *Windsor*. This was rather a flying Skirmish, than a set Battle; and the Loss was pretty equal; about 2000 Men having been killed on both Sides. The King lost some Officers of Distinction, particularly *Henry Spencer*, Earl of *Sunderland*; *Robert Dormer*, Earl of *Carnarvon*; and *Lucius Carey*, Lord Viscount *Falkland*, Secretary of State: But the last was the most lamented, as he was a Gentleman of great Parts, Honour, and Ingenuity; as also a passionate Promoter of all Endeavours of Peace between the King and Parliament; so that he was called the

Noble

Noble and the Just; yet he was so weary of the Times, A. D. 1643, and the Misery he perceived coming on his Country, ^{1643.} that he was glad to perish in the Service of his King, in the 34th Year of his Age.

SIR Ralph Hopton still commanded in Cornwall for the King, and defeated the Earl of Stamford, at Stratton; for which he was afterwards created Lord Hopton, of Stratton. The Earl of Stamford surrendered Exeter to Prince Maurice, who also took Dartmouth, and laid Siege to Plymouth; but in vain; though a Plot had been framed by Sir Alexander Carew, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall, to have yielded the Town into his Hands, for which that Gentleman was afterwards beheaded on Tower-bill.

THE military Transactions in the North, were conducted by the Earl of Newcastle, for the King; and by the Lord Fairfax, for the Parliament. The latter obtained a considerable Advantage at Wakefield, where he took General Goring, and 2000 Men Prisoners: But the former had his Revenge on Allerton Moor, where he entirely defeated Lord Fairfax, who retired to Hull, of which Place he was made Governor, in the Room of Sir John Hotham, who had been lately apprehended by Order of the Parliament.

THE Lord Willoughby, of Parham, took Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, for the Parliament, from Robert Pierpoint, Earl of Kingston, whom he sent Prisoner by Water to Hull: But the Earl was unfortunately shot by some of his own Party, who would have stopped the Pinnace. The Earl of Newcastle marched to retake Gainsborough, into which Oliver Cromwell had thrown a Supply; but the Earl retook it, possessed himself of Lincoln, and besieged Hull; from which Lord Fairfax obliged him to retire. The same Day, Lord Widdrington, with a Detachment of Newcastle's Army, was routed at Winsby Field, near Horn Castle, by Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, and Oliver Cromwell, who killed 1500 Men, among whom were the Lord Widdrington, and Sir Ingram Hopton.

IN the mean Time, the States of Scotland thought it was proper to put that Kingdom in a Posture of Defence,

A D. as they intended to assist the Parliament of *England*, to prevent the Revival of Episcopacy. A Convention of the 1643. *Estates* was summoned, which, in *Scotland*, is distinguished from a Parliament, as the Power of the Members extends only to raise Money or Forces. The *English* Parliament applied for Assistance to the *Scotch* Convention, who found no Difficulty in their Negotiation, and it was agreed that both Nations should enter into a **COVENANT**, or *League*. This *Covenant* was drawn up in *Scotland*, and sent to *England*, where it was received; being intitled, “A solemn *League* and *Covenant*, for Re-formation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.” By this Instrument, they engaged themselves to pursue the universal Extirpation of Popery and Prelacy in *England*, “as well as in *Scotland*, least they partake of other Men’s Sins.” They also undertook to pursue to Extremity all Incendiaries, and *Malignants*; the Meaning of which Terms extended as far as they pleased: And they vowed an eternal Adherence to a firm Peace, and Union between the two Kingdoms. This *Covenant* was ordained to be sworn to, and subscribed by all the Subjects of *Scotland*, under Pain of having their Goods and Rents confiscated: The natural Result of which was, a Treaty with *England*, whereby the *Scots* bound themselves immediately to raise an Army of 18000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, to be paid by *England*, and march into that Kingdom, in Defence of the Parliament. The King highly resented this Conduct of the *Scotch*, and imprisoned the Duke of *Hamilton*, who came to *Oxford*, to avoid the Persecution of his Enemies in *Scotland*, because he would not take the *Covenant*. However, an Army was soon raised in *Scotland*; and, what the King called *Invading England*, the opposite Party called *Afflicting* it.

THE King, finding by Degrees, that it was not in his Power to compose the Disturbances of *England*, or to prevent those of *Scotland*, and abhorring the Thought of introducing a foreign Nation to subdue his own Subjects, began to think of Expedients for allaying the Distem-
pers

pers in *Ireland*; that so, having one of his Kingdoms A. D. in Peace, he might apply the Power of that, towards ~~rc43.~~ the procuring it in his other Dominions. The *English* and *Scotch* Forces in *Ireland* were not strong enough to reduce the Rebels to Obedience, though they were able to keep them in awe: But the King pretended his Forces in that Kingdom would be overpowered by Numbers, and used this Pretence for concluding a Truce with the *Irish* Rebels, which was signed on the 15th of September by the Marquis of *Ormond* for the King, and by several Commissioners for the Catholic Party: But the *English* Parliament declared this Cessation void. The King got the Marquis of *Ormond* to send the *English* Forces over to him from *Ireland*, who arrived at *Mostyn* in *Flintshire*, in *December*, and put themselves under the Command of Lord *Byron*, who besieged *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*: But was repulsed, and the *Irish* Army entirely defeated, by Lord *Fairfax*, on the 21st of *January* 1644, who slew or took Prisoners most of the Foot, consisting of 3000 Men, and dispersed all the Horse, being 1800; so that they were of no Service to the King, but made him more suspected of being concerned in the *Irish* Rebellion. However, it is material to observe, that Colonel *George Monk* was taken in this Action, and sent Prisoner to the *Tower of London*, where he remained for some Time, till at last he took Arms under the Parliament, and was afterwards the happy Instrument of restoring the Royal Family, after the King had been beheaded, and the Nation enslaved.

UPON the Miscarriage of Mr. *Waller*'s Conspiracy, the Parliament not only fined him, but banished him the Kingdom; and hanged two of the Conspirators in *London*. One of the King's Messengers was also hanged for entering *London* without a Passport, and delivering a Letter from the King to the Judges, requiring them to remove the Seals of the Green-Wax-Offices to *Oxford*.

THE Earl of *Essex* heartily wished for such a Peace, A. D. as might put a happy Period to the Distractions of the ~~1644.~~ Kingdom:

A. D. 1644. Kingdom: Or, if that could not be accomplished by Means of a Peace, to end them at least by a general Battle; as he was of Opinion, that the Nation would run less Hazard by venturing a Decision by Arms, than by the Prolongation of a War. But the King would be no Losser, and the Parliament wanted to be great Gainers, by a Pacification; which was therefore so far from being effected, that both Parties were more violent than ever. The Integrity and Moderation of the Earl of *Essex*, made him experience what usually happens to honest Men in civil Dissentions; for the Parliament thought him coldly affected to their Party, and wanted to remove him from that Command and Trust which he had so honourably borne and discharged. The King vainly imagined, that the Parliament had only such Adherents as they could make through Seduction, Fear, and Ignorance; and that no one assisted them through Persuasion, Honour, or Conscience. His Majesty had declared they were no longer a Parliament: While they blackened his Character about the *Irish* Rebellion, voted the Queen guilty of High-Treason, withheld the Revenues appointed for the Maintenance of the Princes, and made a new Great-Seal, which they gave to their own Commissioners: But the King said this was counterfeiting the Great-Seal, which was High-Treason, pursuant to the Statute of the Twenty-fifth of *Edward* the Third. The Parliament had also summoned an Assembly of Divines to vindicate their Conduct to the Protestant Churches abroad: And it was suspected, that the King had Emissaries in foreign Countries, who were using their utmost Endeavours to represent the Civil Wars in *England*, as a horrible Rebellion against the Sovereign.

THE King had hitherto raised Money by selling or mortgaging the Crown-Lands, or by the voluntary Contributions of his well Wishers: But he was now in greater Perplexities than ever to provide for the Maintenance of the War, in the approaching Campaign. He therefore also found, that the Name, rather than the Members of the Parliament, had done all the Mischief

chief to the Nation ; and, he called a Parliament^{AD. 1644.} which met at *Oxford* on the 22d of *January*, where several loyal Lords and Commons took their Seats, who had dissented from those at *Westminster*. The same Day, the Parliament at *Westminster* called the Houses, when there appeared only twenty-two Lords, and 180 Commoners ; while Forty-three Lords, and 118 Commoners, appeared at *Oxford*, the Rest being either abroad, confined, or employed in different Parts on both Sides. The Parliament at *Oxford* laid a Snare for that at *Westminster*, by inviting them to a Treaty ; which would have been owning the Royalists for a Parliament. They also applied to the Earl of *Essex* to promote a Peace : But all came to nothing, like the former Propositions. The *Oxford* Parliament voted that of *Westminster* guilty of High-Treason ; and that all who assisted the *Scotch*, should be deemed Traitors. The King borrowed 100,000*l.* by Way of Loan : But the *Westminster* Parliament levied Money by Way of Excise on several Commodities, which was a Term unknown before in *England* ; and the Royalists followed the Example ; yet this Excise was no more strange to the People of *England*, than two Parliaments assembled at one Time : Though that of *Oxford* was only for the temporary Expedient of raising Money, and never met again after it broke up on the 16th of *April*.

THE Defence which the *Britons* made against the *Romans*, the bloody Wars which the heptarchial *Saxons* made among themselves, the Devastations which the *Danes* made upon the *Saxons*, the Invasion made by the *Normans* on both *Saxons* and *Danes*, nor the former Civil Wars from the Accession of the House of *Plantagenet* to that of *Tudor*, abounded with more Animosity and Bloodshed, than what happened in the fatal Reign of *Charles the First*. The *Scotch* Army, consisting of 18,000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, with 500 Dragoons, appeared before *Berwick* on the 1st of *January*, and entered *England*, under the Command of *Alexander Leslie*, Earl of *Leven*, who obliged the Marquis of *Newcastle* to retire to *Durham*, where he followed him. Thus this

A.D. ^{1644.} infatuated People rushed into the Field without any Provocation, and in a Quarrel that required them to espouse the Royal Party, if they had been sensible of their own Interest ; of which their greatest Men were so thoroughly convinced, that they refused to accept of any Command in the Army. The Lord *Fairfax*, on the 11th of April, defeated Colonel *Bellasis* at *Selby* in *Yorkshire*, and took him Prisoner, with 1600 of his Men : After which he joined the *Scotch* Forces at *Tadcaster*, and the two Generals resolved to besiege *York*, where the Marquis of *Newcastle* had retreated. The Earl of *Manchester*, General of the seven Eastern associated Counties, also joined the *Scotch* Troops, when the three Armies invested *York*, from whence the Marquis of *Newcastle* sent Word to the King to relieve him.

IN the mean Time, Sir *John Meldrum* besieged *Newark* in *Nottinghamshire*, with 5000 Parliamentarian Forces : But Prince *Rupert* hastily arrived from *Chester* to relieve the Place, at the Head of 7000 Men ; with which he surrounded *Meldrum*, and obliged him to march away with military Honours, but without his Artillery. The Prince then relieved an *English* Heroine : This was the Countess of *Derby*, who had been besieged 18 Weeks in *Latham-House* in *Lancashire*, by 2000 Parliamentarians. He took *Stopworth* in *Cheshire*, and *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, by Storm, where he put great Numbers to the Sword ; and then drove Colonel *More* out of *Liverpool*, where the King sent him a Letter to raise the Siege of *York*, and told him that would not be sufficient unless he beat the *Scotch* Army ; which Words induced the Prince to fight a Battle that proved very fatal to the King.

PRINCE *Rupert* immediately advanced towards *York*, and so far increased his Army in his March, as to make it equal to that of the Besiegers, who quitted the Siege, and posted themselves on *Marston-Moor*, about five Miles from *York*. The Prince followed, and brought them to an Engagement on the 3d of July, which was fought with great Obstinacy. The Royal Army consisted of 14,000 Foot, and 9000 Horse, with a Train of twenty-five

five Pieces of Cannon ; and the Parliament's Army were A. D. at least equal to it in Number. It is remarkable, that the ¹⁶⁴¹ Left-Wing of the King's Army, was entirely routed by the Parliament's Right-Wing ; while the King's Right-Wing had the same Advantage over the Left of the Parliament. The two victorious Wings, after chasing their Enemies, returned to the Field, and met Face to Face, when they renewed the Fight : But the King's Horse were put to Flight, and the Foot routed ; so that the Prince retreated in the Night to *York*, and was pursued within a Mile of that City, having about 4000 Men killed, and 1500 taken Prisoners, with the Loss of his Artillery. The Parliament Generals gave out, they had only 300 Men killed on their Side : But this may justly be suspected. *Oliver Cromwell* distinguished himself in this Battle, by acting as Lieutenant-General to the Earl of *Manchester*, who commanded the Left-Wing : And the Scotch General, who before had shewn some Disgust to the *English*, became reconciled : While Prince *Rupert*, and the Marquis of *Newcastle*, had high Words about the Engagement, which was undertaken contrary to the Advice of the Marquis, who had honourably served the King, but was so contemptuously treated by the Prince, that he immediately departed the Kingdom, and returned no more 'till after the Restoration of King *Charles the Second*. At the same Time, Prince *Rupert* abandoned *York*, and marched towards *Chester* with the Remains of his Army : While the Parliament Generals returned to *York*, which was surrendered to them in a few Days, upon honourable Terms, by Sir *Thomas Glenham* the Governor. After this, the Scotch General took *Newcastle* by Storm : So that the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, lost the King all the North, which hitherto had given the Parliament-Forces such a powerful Diversion.

THE Affairs of the King, in the Beginning of this Year, also bore a melancholly Aspect in the South Parts of the Kingdom, where the Parliament had one Army commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, and another by Sir *William Waller* : But the Jealousy subsisting between

A. D. these two Generals, prevented them from acting in ¹⁶⁴⁴ Concert together. The King continued with his Army at *Oxford*, and sent Lord *Hopton* with 8000 Men, to fight Sir *William Waller*, who was at the Head of an equal Number, and had penetrated into the West. The two Armies met, between *Farnham* and *Winchester*, on *Cheriton-Down* near *Abresford*, where the Battle was fought on the 29th of *March*; when the King's-Horse behaved shamefully, and Lord *Hopton* was defeated with the Loss of 600 Men killed, among whom was the Lord *Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*; which obliged *Hopton* to retire to *Oxford*, and leave *Waller* at Liberty to enter *Winchester*.

THE King's Loss at *Abresford*, discouraged his Army at *Oxford*, which amounted to 8000 Foot, and 4000 Horse: But the Parliament were so much encouraged, that they ordered the Earl of *Essex* and *Waller* to besiege *Oxford*, with their united Army, consisting of 19,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse. The two Generals invested *Oxford* on the 3d of *June*: But the King left that City at Night, and safely passed with all his Horse, and some Foot, between the two Parliament-Armies, hastily marching to *Worcester*, where he was followed by *Waller*, while *Essex* marched into the West against Prince *Maurice*: For, as the King was escaped, and left most of his Foot in *Oxford*, they did not think fit to besiege that City.

THE King eluded the Vigilance of *Waller*, and returned to *Oxford*, where he rejoined his Foot, and went into *Buckinghamshire*, with a Design to engage *Waller*, who came in Sight of the King near *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*. The two Armies were divided by the River *Cherwell*; and the King, after leaving a strong Guard at *Cropedy-Bridge*, feigned to march northward on the 29th of *June*; when *Waller* attacked the Bridge, and forded the River; but was defeated with the Loss of his Artillery, 600 Men killed, and 700 taken Prisoners.

THIS Advantage gave the King an Opportunity of following *Essex* into the West; while *Waller* returned to *London*,

London, where he was received as a Conqueror. The King arrived at *Exeter*, where he joined Prince *Maurice*,^{1644.} and found himself at the Head of an Army superior to that commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, who retired into *Cornwall* by the Advice of Lord *Roberts* of *Truro*, and the King followed him into that Country. The Earl of *Essex* was quartered at *Fowey*, and had his Provisions cut off by the King, who vainly endeavoured to gain him to his Interest: While the Earl was reduced to such Extremity, that he was obliged to abandon his Army, and take Shipping, with some of his Officers, for *Plymouth*; leaving General *Skippon* to procure the best Terms he could for the Foot; as Sir *William Balfour* had saved the Horse by passing through the King's Quarters in a dark misty Night, on the 2d of *September*. *Skippon* was for fighting his Way through the Enemy, as the Horse had done: But his Officers were for capitulating with the King, who contented himself with disarming them, and permitted them to retire to *Pool* or *Southampton*; though he might have obliged them to surrender on any Terms. Here may be seen the uncertain Issues of War! *Essex* and *Waller*, with two great Armies, were a few Weeks before in Pursuit of the King, who could scarce find a Way to avoid them: And now the King was victorious over both those Armies, which he defeated, disarmed, and dispersed.

It is to the Honour of the Parliament at *Westminster*, that their Regard for their Generals was never abated by their ill Success; in which they followed the Example of the more victorious *Romans* in the Time of their Republic; and the Earl of *Essex* was as well received as his Rival Sir *William Waller*: Though the Earl knew he was sacrificed by the Committee of both Kingdoms, to their Jealousies and Resentment. The Disorder of the King's Affairs, in the Midland and Northern Counties, would not permit his Continuance in the West, from whence he marched towards *London*: While the Parliament were employed in recruiting their ruined Armies; and the King sent them a fresh Message with

A. D. these two Generals, prevented them from acting in Concert together. The King continued with his Army at *Oxford*, and sent Lord *Hopton* with 8000 Men, to fight Sir *William Waller*, who was at the Head of an equal Number, and had penetrated into the West. The two Armies met, between *Farnham* and *Winchester*, on *Cheriton-Down* near *Alresford*, where the Battle was fought on the 29th of *March*; when the King's-Horse behaved shamefully, and Lord *Hopton* was defeated with the Loss of 600 Men killed, among whom was the Lord *Stewart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*; which obliged *Hopton* to retire to *Oxford*, and leave *Waller* at Liberty to enter *Winchester*.

THE King's Loss at *Alresford*, discouraged his Army at *Oxford*, which amounted to 8000 Foot, and 4000 Horse: But the Parliament were so much encouraged, that they ordered the Earl of *Essex* and *Waller* to besiege *Oxford*, with their united Army, consisting of 19,000 Foot, and 4000 Horse. The two Generals invested *Oxford* on the 3d of *June*: But the King left that City at Night, and safely passed with all his Horse, and some Foot, between the two Parliament-Armies, hastily marching to *Worcester*, where he was followed by *Waller*, while *Essex* marched into the West against Prince *Maurice*: For, as the King was escaped, and left most of his Foot in *Oxford*, they did not think fit to besiege that City.

THE King eluded the Vigilance of *Waller*, and returned to *Oxford*, where he rejoined his Foot, and went into *Buckinghamshire*, with a Design to engage *Waller*, who came in Sight of the King near *Brackley* in *Northamptonshire*. The two Armies were divided by the River *Cherwell*; and the King, after leaving a strong Guard at *Cropedy-Bridge*, feigned to march northward on the 29th of *June*; when *Waller* attacked the Bridge, and forded the River; but was defeated with the Loss of his Artillery, 600 Men killed, and 700 taken Prisoners.

THIS Advantage gave the King an Opportunity of following *Essex* into the West; while *Waller* returned to *London*,

London, where he was received as a Conqueror. The A. D. King arrived at *Exeter*, where he joined Prince *Maurice*, ¹⁶⁴⁴ and found himself at the Head of an Army superior to that commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, who retired into *Cornwall* by the Advice of *Lord Roberts of Truro*, and the King followed him into that Country. The Earl of *Essex* was quartered at *Fowey*, and had his Provisions cut off by the King, who vainly endeavoured to gain him to his Interest: While the Earl was reduced to such Extremity, that he was obliged to abandon his Army, and take Shipping, with some of his Officers, for *Plymouth*; leaving General *Skippon* to procure the best Terms he could for the Foot; as Sir *William Balfour* had saved the Horse by passing through the King's Quarters in a dark misty Night, on the 2d of *September*. *Skippon* was for fighting his Way through the Enemy, as the Horse had done: But his Officers were for capitulating with the King, who contented himself with disarming them, and permitted them to retire to *Pool* or *Southampton*; though he might have obliged them to surrender on any Terms. Here may be seen the uncertain Issues of War! *Essex* and *Waller*, with two great Armies, were a few Weeks before in Pursuit of the King, who could scarce find a Way to avoid them: And now the King was victorious over both those Armies, which he defeated, disarmed, and dispersed.

It is to the Honour of the Parliament at *Westminster*, that their Regard for their Generals was never abated by their ill Success; in which they followed the Example of the more victorious *Romans* in the Time of their Republic; and the Earl of *Essex* was as well received as his Rival Sir *William Waller*: Though the Earl knew he was sacrificed by the Committee of both Kingdoms, to their Jealousies and Resentment. The Disorder of the King's Affairs, in the Midland and Northern Countries, would not permit his Continuance in the West, from whence he marched towards *London*: While the Parliament were employed in recruiting their ruined Armies; and the King sent them a fresh Message with

A. D. Offers of Peace, which was disregarded, as other such
1644. Offers had been before. But while Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* were fighting for their Uncle, their Brother the Elector *Palatine* threw himself under the Protection of the Parliament, who allowed him a Pension to reside in *London*.

IT was the 15th of *October* when the King arrived at *Salisbury*; and his Forces were so much diminished in his March, that he altered his Resolution of proceeding to *London*, and contented himself with returning to *Oxford*. The Parliament had united the three Armies of *Essex*, *Waller*, and *Manchester*, at *Reading*, on the 21st of *October*, which were still commanded by those Generals, who marched against the King, and obliged him to come to a second Battle at *Newbury*, on *Sunday* the 27th of *October*. The Parliament Forces consisted of 16,000 Men: but the King had not half that Number, and defended himself by Intrenchments, which the Parliament Generals attacked. The Fight was obstinate, and continued till Night put an End to it: The King having lost 3000 Men, and the Parliament 2500 by some Accounts; but other Accounts make the King's Loss very inconsiderable; and Lord *Clarendon* says, the Parliament Generals lost only 1000 Men.

THE King, under Covert of the Night, withdrew to *Wallingford*, and from thence to *Oxford*; leaving his heavy Cannon and Baggage in *Dennington-Castle*: But the Parliament Generals were all so much at Variance, that they neither pursued the King, nor besieged *Dennington*; which emboldened his Majesty to return to that Place, and unmolestedly take away his Cannon in Sight of the Enemy, who had a few Skirmishes with the King, but judged it unsafe to come to a general Engagement. Thus the Campaign was terminated in *England*, not so disfavourably as the King imagined at the Beginning: But the Parliament had the Superiority in *Wales*, where many little Skirmishes happened, which were productive of no important Event.

DURING this Campaign, the Parliament kept their Resolutions more private than usual, and the King had not

not such good Intelligence as formerly. The Dutch A. D. offered their Mediation for a Peace, which the Parliament ¹⁶⁴⁴ disregarded: While they beheaded Sir *John Hotham* and his Son, on *Tower-Hill*, for designing to deliver up *Hull* to the King; though they first began this Civil War, by shutting the Gates of that Town against his Majesty. They also beheaded *Archbishop Laud* on his former Sentence, who declared on the Scaffold, that the King was a sound Protestant. Sir *Alexander Carew* was beheaded for endeavouring to betray *Plymouth*; and soon after, the Parliament executed Lord *Macguire*, at *Tyburn*, for being concerned in the *Irish* Rebellion.

OLIVER CROMWELL, began now to appear like a A. D. baleful Comet, portending the Destruction of Royalty; ¹⁶⁴⁵ and the grand Part he afterwards acted, makes it necessary to mention something of the Character of that great, wicked, politic, and extraordinary Man, who could subvert a Kingdom, that had subsisted 829 Years, and erect a Commonwealth which continued but with his own Life: Who could, in a most unparalleled Manner, destroy his own King, and, for a Time, extirpate an established Religion. He was Son of Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, second Son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, and Brother of Sir *Oliver*, who gave a grand Entertainment to King *James the First*, on his Accession to the Crown, at his House at *Hinchinbrook* in *Huntingdonshire*, which is now the Seat of the Earl of *Sandwich*. But *Oliver Cromwell* was born at *Huntingdon*, on the 25th of *April*, 1599. He was a Student in *Sidney College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards studied the Law in *Lincoln's Inn*. He had not Speculation enough for the *University*, nor Sedentariness sufficient for an *Inn of Court*: He was more inclined to Action, and wasted a great Part of his paternal Estate in Extravagance and Debauchery. At length he fell into the Hands of some Puritans, and became a zealous Friend to their Party; which made him affect the Appearance of Sobriety and Religion, 'till his Hypocrisy deceived both Mankind and himself. In 1640 he was Member for *Cambridge*; and, at the breaking out of the War, was commissioned by the Parliament

A. D. to raise a Troop of Horse. In 1643, he was advanced 1645. to the Degree of a Colonel of Horse ; and afterwards made Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester ; for his many Services to the Parliament. He distinguished himself at Newark, Grantham, Gainsborough, Horn-Castle, Marston Moor, and Newbury ; gaining the Name of Colonel of the Ironsides, from the impenetrable Strength of his own Regiment : But, as he was so violently attached to the Puritan Party, his Honesty was justly suspected by the Earl of Essex, and others, who acted only for the Cause of Liberty.

THE Earl of Essex was the Darling of all Men of Property in the Army, and the Men of Sense in the Parliament : but Cromwell had a Scheme of *Independency* both upon the King and Parliament ; in which he too happily succeeded. A new Scene began to open, and the Parliament was split into many Factions : for the Earl of Essex, with all those Officers and Soldiers, who had originally embarked in the Opposition from Motives of Principle, disdained to see themselves betrayed, and blushed to acknowledge they had been deceived.

CROMWELL associated himself with Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Arthur Haslerig, who inspired the Soldiers, and deceived the People, with that Enthusiasm which Cromwell affected, and made the Londoners believe their Army was to be put into the Hands of Men who would “ do the Work of the Lord ;” for that was the Phrase of the Times, “ without Division or Deceit.” It was now pretended by this Party, that the Body of the Army itself was corrupted by their Officers, who held Civil Employments ; and a Committee was appointed to enquire into this Matter ; which was the first Sketch of the famous *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the Master-piece of Cromwell’s Policy ; as it was the Cause of new modelling the Army, and of excluding all Members of Parliament from Civil or Military Posts.

IT was evident, the Design of Cromwell was to draw the Sword against the Parliament ; and the Members, who saw into his Designs, were for accelerating the Treaty with the King, who granted their Commissioners

a safe

a safe Conduct, and entered upon the Negotiation at A. D. *Oxford*, which was afterwards removed to *Uxbridge*, 1645. where the King's Commissioners met those from the *English* and *Scotch* Parliaments, on the 30th of *January*, and their Conferences were limited to twenty Days.

THE Propositions were to be reduced to the three principal Heads of *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*: but on both Sides they were, in Substance, the same with those given at *Oxford*. Those delivered in by the Parliament were 28 in Number, whereby they not only repeated their former Demands, but requested that his Majesty himself would swear and sign the late *Solemn Treaty and Covenant*; that he would sign several Acts, and particularly an *Act of Oblivion*, wherein Prince *Rupert*, his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and James Earl of *Derby*, with several other Lords and Gentlemen should be excepted, as well as all Papists and Popish Recusants acting against the Parliament: that the settling of all Forces, both by Sea and Land, should be invested in Commissioners to be nominated by both Houses of Parliament; who should also appoint the chief Governor of *Ireland*, and all the great Officers of the Crown of *England*: and that the King should not conclude *Peace* or *War* with foreign Powers, without the Advice and Consent of Parliament. This was stripping the King of all Authority, by leaving him only an empty Title, and publickly investing themselves with the Sovereignty, as if they were like the Diet in *Poland*, and his Majesty like the Royal Cypher of that Republic. In Fact, neither Party was inclined to *Peace*: the Parliament only wanted to ensnare the King; nor could he have received harder Terms if he had been their Prisoner; so that the Conferences broke off upon the Expiration of the twenty Days; and the Negotiation for *Peace* was followed by Preparations for *War*.

THE *Independent* Sect, or Faction, came gradually to undermine the *Presbyterians* in Parliament; and had their Denomination from declaring against the Dependency of Churches, where they would not endure so

A. D. much as ordinary Ministers, disallowing parochial and 1645. provincial Subordinations, and forming their Congregations upon a Scheme of Co-ordinacy: They were originally called *Congregationalists*; and chiefly owed their Rise to *Goodwin*, and others, who transported themselves into *Holland* for Liberty of Conscience; from whence they returned to *England* upon the Subversion of Episcopacy. These Independents at first united with the Presbyterians; but their Views were different, as they proposed for their End to change the Monarchy into a Commonwealth; which cannot be imputed to the Presbyterians in general, who, at least, preserved an external Respect for Royalty. *Cromwell* was the principal Leader of this Party, and had inflamed the Parliament against their Generals. This occasioned the new modelling of the Army, by forming new Bodies of Troops out of the old ones; and brought on the *Self-denying Ordinance*, which was so called, because the House in passing it, renounced their own Advantages; but the Lords were so much against it, that it created a Difference between the two Houses.

THE Commons voted that the Army should consist of 6000 Horse, 1000 Dragoons, and 14000 Foot. They appointed Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son of Lord *Fairfax*, their Captain-General; *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant-General; and *Henry Ireton*, *Cromwell's* Son-in-Law, Commissary-General; with many other Alterations. The Earls of *Essex*, *Denbigh*, and *Manchester*, surrendered their Commissions, which were thankfully received by the Commons, who voted the Earl of *Essex* 10,000*l.* a Year for his Services. Indeed, *Essex* had resolved to resign his Command after raising the Siege of *Gloucester* in 1643; but was prevailed upon to continue it by his Friends. Here ended, says *Whitlock*, the first Scene of our tragic Civil Wars in the Exit of this brave Person *Essex*, who being set aside, and many gallant Men, his Officers, with him, the King's Party looked upon the new Army, and new Officers, with much Contempt; and the new Model was, by them, in Scorn, called the *New Noddle*.

ON

ON the Parliament-Side, three Armies were formed A. D. into one ; and, though Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was reckoned ^{1645.} a zealous Presbyterian, *Cromwell* had such an Influence over him, that he made him do whatever he pleased ; while *Cromwell* masked his real Intentions under the Disguise of a rigid Presbyterian. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* assembled his Army at *Windsor* ; while the King was preparing to take the Field at *Oxford*: But, as the King expected a Reinforcement from Prince *Rupert* at *Worcester*, the Committee of both Kingdoms ordered their General to dispatch his Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* with a Party of Horse towards *Oxford* to hinder this Junction ; who, in *April*, defeated a Brigade, commanded by the Earl of *Northampton*, at *Islip-Bridge* ; and obliged Colonel *Windebank* to surrender *Blechington-House*, for which the Colonel was afterwards condemned by a Council of War, and shot to Death at *Oxford*: *Cromwell* obtained some little Advantages over Sir *Will. Vaughan* ; but was repulsed by Sir *George Lisle* at *Farringdon-House*.

THE Parliament was very weak in the western Countries, and sent their General with his whole Army to the Relief of *Taunton*, which was besieged by Sir *Richard Greenwill*: But the King took the Field on the 7th of *May*, with 8000 Men, which obliged Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to return back to *Newbury*, after detaching Colonel *Welden* with 5000 Foot and 1800 Horse to *Taunton*. The King, on the 30th, took *Leicester* by Storm. In the mean Time, *Fairfax* besieged *Oxford* ; but soon raised the Siege to follow the King ; and desired the Parliament to dispense with *Cromwell's* Absence from the House, to attend the Army ; which would have been a very honourable Distinction, if there was not Room to suspect it was owing to *Cromwell's* own Intrigues ; for he was now the only Person that kept his Seat in Parliament, and his Command in the Army.

THE King advanced to meet *Fairfax*, who had met with a Repulse from Colonel *Campion*, at *Borftal-House*. Both Armies met on the 14th of *June*, at *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*, where the fatal Battle was fought that

A. D. 1645. decided the Quarrel between the King and the Parliament. Both Parties were pretty equal in Number; each Army consisting of about 12000 Men. The Disposition of the King's Army was made by Lord *Astley*; and that of the Parliament by General *Skippon*: Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* commanded the King's right Wing: the King was with Lord *Astley* in the Center: and the left Wing was commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*: the Body of Reserve being under the Command of the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Litchfield*. The Parliament's left Wing was headed by *Ireton*: *Fairfax* and *Skippon* were in the Center: and *Cromwell* commanded the right Wing: the Reserve being brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. Prince *Rupert* was successful on his Side, and routed *Ireton*: *Fairfax* at first gave way in the Center; but bravely rallied his Men, and routed the Enemy: while *Cromwell* obliged *Langdale*'s Wing to fly with great Precipitation. The King behaved like a brave General, but was unable to rally his Horse; upon which the Foot surrendered to *Fairfax*, and the King retreated with a small Party of Horse to *Litchfield*, having 600 men killed, and near 5000 taken Prisoners, with all his Artillery, Equipage, and Cabinet. The Parliament had about 1000 Men killed; and their Victory was so decisive, that their Forces afterwards conquered wherever they came.

THE Conduct of Prince *Rupert* at *Naseby* was blamed as much as it had been at *Marston-Moor*, by too hastily following the Pursuit; and the King's Troops were as backward in rallying here as they were at *Edge-Hill*, which lost them the Day. The Parliament were as successful over the King at *Naseby*, as *Julius Cæsar* was over *Pompey* at *Pharsalia*: the Consequence was equally important; with this Difference, that *Cæsar* turned a glorious Republic into a Monarchy; and *Cromwell* turned a great Monarchy into a Republic, where, indeed, he had the same dictatorial Power as *Cæsar* had in *Rome*, like him was offered a Crown, but unlike him refused it, which preserved his Life among Enemies, while *Cæsar* was massacred by his Friends. *Cæsar* shewed

shewed Humanity to his conquered Enemy at *Pharsalia*; A. D. where he disdained to open the Cabinet which fell into 1645. his Hands: But the Parliament made an ungenerous Use of what they found in the King's Cabinet, and published his Letters; while that unhappy Monarch, like the great *Pompey*, was exposed to all the Miseries of Fortune, which terminated only with their Lives, and melancholly was both their Deaths.

THE King retired to *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, instead of joining *Goring* at *Taunton*, where he might have assembled another Army; which gave *Fairfax* an Opportunity of reducing *Leicester*, and defeating *Goring* at *Langport*, who had many Men killed, and 1900 taken Prisoners. This Victory was followed with the taking of *Bridgwater*, *Bath*, *Sherborne*, and *Dartmouth*. *Fairfax* then laid Siege to *Bristol*, where there was a strong Garrison commanded by Prince *Rupert*, who surrendered it in a short Time; which so much enraged the King, that he ordered him by a Letter to depart the Kingdom, and revoked all his Commissions.

CROMWELL took *Winchester-Castle*; and made the Marquis of *Winchester* Prisoner at *Basing*: he also took *Langford-House* near *Salisbury*, the Castle of the *Devizes*, and some other Places; while *Fairfax* took *Tiverton*, and invested *Exeter*. In the mean Time, the Prince of *Wales*, and Lord *Hopton*, assembled an Army of 8000 Men in *Cornwall*, and marched to the Relief of *Exeter*; but were met by *Fairfax*, and defeated at *Torrington*, with the Loss of 3000 Men.

WHILE the Parliament-Army was employed in reducing the Western Counties, the Scotch Army took *Carlisle*; after which, they advanced as far South as *Hereford*, and besieged that City in *July*; but raised the Siege in *September*, and returned into *Yorkshire*, where *Pontefract* and *Scarborough* surrendered to the Parliament.

WHILE *Fairfax* was in the West, the King left *Wales* at the Head of 3000 Horse, with which he took *Huntingdon*, and marched to *Oxford*; from whence he went to *Hereford*, and then to *Chester*, which was invested by Colonel *Jones*. But Major-General *Pointz* was

A. D. was sent after the King, and defeated him on *Routon*.
1645. *Heath*, within two Miles of *Chester*, killing 600 Men, and taking 1000 Prisoners; the brave and loyal *Bernard Stewart*, Earl of *Litchfield*, being among the former. The King escaped to *Denbigh-Castle*; and, after continuing there some Time, advanced with 3000 Men to *Newark in Nottinghamshire*, from whence he was driven out by the *Scots*, and returned to *Oxford* on the 6th of *November*; there being no other Remedy left than to make Peace with the Parliament. However, he sent Lord *Digby* with 1500 Horse to join *Montrose* in *Scotland*; but *Digby* was defeated by Colonel *Copley*, and his Men obliged to shift for themselves.

A. D. The King renewed his Proposals of Peace to the Parliament, whose Success prompted them to treat him like Conquerors; in which they acted as downright Rebels, and had no farther Pretensions to the Name of Patriotism. They refused to admit the King to a Personal Treaty at *Westminster*; and charged him with having concluded a Treaty with the *Irish* Rebels, by which they were to furnish him with 10,000 Men; nor is it improbable that such a Treaty was made, though it was kept a great Secret by the King, and his Friends in *Ireland*, who threw the whole Blame upon the Earl of *Glamorgan*, for exceeding his Orders in concluding such a Treaty.

LORD *Hopton*, after his Defeat at *Torrington*, retreated into *Cornwall* with 3000 Horse, and was so closely pursued by *Fairfax*, that the Prince of *Wales* escaped to *Scilly*, and from thence to *France*, where his Mother had been for a considerable Time. Lord *Hopton*, on the 14th of *March*, surrendered to *Fairfax* at *Truro*, upon honourable Terms: And, on the 9th of *April*, *Fairfax* took Possession of *Exeter*; with the Reduction of which City he ended his Western Expedition, glorious to himself, advantageous to the Parliament, and destructive to the King; who yet had the gallant Marquis of *Montrose*, in Arms for him in *Scotland*, and the Marquis of *Ormond* firm to his Interest in *Ireland*: But he had little left in *England*, where the only Army he had in the

the Field was defeated by Sir *William Brereton*, at *Stow A. D.*
in the Woald, and Lord *Astley* was taken Prisoner. 1646.

THE Court of *France* sent *Montreuil* into *England*, to endeavour to reconcile the King and the *Scotch* Officers, who promised to receive his Majesty, and provide for his Safety, at the Time *Fairfax* was advancing to inclose him in *Oxford*. The King had offered to dismantle his remaining *Garrison*, and had little Time for Reflection within himself, or treat with the *Scotch*; and, on the 5th of *May*, privately came to their Army at *Newark*, by whom he was basely betrayed.

THE Public had not now the same dreadful Apprehensions of the King, or the same Confidence in the Parliament; for they had seen the Sword transferred from those they trusted, into the Hands of Men who had no other Property than Plunder; who traded in War, and delighted in Blood. The *Presbyterians* had reduced the King to the State of a private Man, who offered a thousand Times more than they demanded when they drew the Sword; and they demanded more than was consistent with the just Rights of Government: But the Sword was now in the Hands of *Independents*, who fired their Soldiers with enthusiastic Fury, 'till they brought the King as a Criminal to the Block, in Contempt of those Laws which their Ancestors had made to render the Person of Majesty awful, sacred, and inviolable. The Death of the Earl of *Essex*, who was the capital Enemy of *Cromwell*, was a severe Blow to the *Presbyterian* Party; and the Artifices of *Cromwell* procured the Continuation of the Army, when there was no Necessity for having any farther Recourse to Arms, as the King had now thrown himself into the Hands of the *Scotch* Generals, who persuaded him to give Orders for the Surrender of *Newark*, *Oxford*, *Litchfeld*, *Worcester*, *Banbury*, *Wallingford*, and *Pendennis*; with many other strong Places, both in *England* and *Wales*.

IF the Royal, the *Presbyterian*, and the *Scotch* Interest had been united at this Time, in forming the great Work of Peace, the *Independents* could not have kept the Power in their Hands: But no such Effort was made.

The

A. D. The Parliament of *Scotland* was disunited in itself; and
1646. *Leven*, their General, was a weak, timorous Man. The *English* Commons demanded that the Person of the King should be delivered into their Hands, and voted that he should be sent to *Warwick Castle*: This was opposed by the Lords; but the Commons told them they would put their Votes into Execution without their Concurrence: which was such a flagrant Insult upon the Constitution, that the Writers of those Times thought it imprudent to transmit such a Passage to Posterity: But in Reality, the Faction intended that the Lords should have no Power in the Legislature, whom they terrified on all Occasions with a Body of the Army, which was kept near the Parliament, as a kind of *Prætorian Guard*. The *Scotch* Army removed from *Newark* and carried the King to *Newcastle*, where *Leven* disclaimed all previous Treaty with his Majesty, that could encourage him to put himself into his Hands; and promised to take the Advice of the *English* in all their Measures. The Parliament at *Westminster* began to entertain great Jealousies of their *Scotch* Brethren, and voted that the Kingdom had no farther Use for continuing the *Scotch* Army in *England*; but the *Scotch* resolved to make all the Advantage they could of their royal Prize, intimating that without Money, they neither would leave *England*, nor deliver up the King, who with infinite Concern, found himself a close Prisoner, and heard of the Murder of his best Friends in *Scotland*, by Form of Law, for fighting under the Marquis of *Montrose*, whom the King ordered to dismiss his Forces at the Time he commanded the Rendition of his Garrisons in *England*. Indeed, the *English* Parliament and *Scotch* Commissioners drew up nineteen new Propositions of Peace, which they sent to the King by the Earl of *Pembroke* and others: But the Faction now rose in their Demands more than ever; and the King demanded he might be suffered to come in Safety to *London*. The *Scotch* Generals blamed him for not taking the *Covenant*, and accepting of the Propositions: While they claimed their Right of keeping his Person. Nor would they deliver him up to the *English* Parliament, 'till
they

they purchased the Person of afflicted Majesty for the A. D. Sum of 400,000 £. with which the Scotch Army returned ^{1646.} into their own Kingdom, where it was equivalent to near five Millions of their own Money.

THE Life of *Charles* now hurries to its Catastrophe, A. D. and the Nation rushes into Slavery. His Queen and ^{1647.} eldest Son were in *France*; his two younger Sons, and one of his Daughters, were kept like Prisoners in *London*: While his two Nephews, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, abandoned the Kingdom, when they could be of no farther Service to their Uncle, who was delivered by the Scotch General to the English Commissioners at *Newcastle*, on the 30th of *January*, and escorted by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with 900 Horse, to *Holmby House* in *Northamptonshire*, where he arrived on the 16th of *February*, attended by only nine of his Domestics.

It does not plainly appear, that the Scotch made a formal Sale of the King's Person: But that Transaction has been rendered the more odious, as it was the Occasion of his Tragical Death: Though nothing was at that Time farther from the Thoughts of the Presbyterians in both Kingdoms, and it was afterwards perpetrated solely by the enthusiastic Independants.

THE Presbyterians were superior in the Parliament and in *London*: But the Independents were grown very considerable by being Masters of the Army; which made it necessary for the former to get the Forces disbanded, and for the latter to have them continued. *Cromwell* still pretended to pass for a rigid Presbyterian; but was really at the Head of the Independents. By his Dissimulation he had persuaded General *Fairfax* that his sole Aim was to promote the Glory of God, and the Honour of the Kingdom: While his Emisaries raised a Spirit of Discontent and Mutiny in the Army, whose Officers were not willing to be disbanded, as many of them had been common Tradesmen, as well as their Men, and all of them were averse to any Scheme of returning to their former Occupations, by which the Soldiers, especially the Horse, could not be half so well maintained as they had hitherto been in their Trade of War by the Parliament.

THE

A. D. ^{1647.} THE first Spark of this Flame appeared in the Middle of March; while the Parliament was consulting to send over a Body of Forces to *Ireland*. A Petition was framed by some of the Officers in the Army against being disbanded; which flew from Regiment to Regiment, and the Parliament ordered the General, whose head Quarters were then at *Saffron-walden*, to put a Stop to such Disorders, by informing his Men that the Petition tended to breed a Mutiny, and that the Promoters thereof should be proceeded against as Enemies to the State. The Officers and Soldiers complained, that they who had fought for the Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, were denied the Liberty of the Subject, to petition about their own Grievances: Nor could the Parliament raise the intended Troops for *Ireland*, which were to consist of seven Regiments of Foot, 3000 Horse, and 1200 Dragoons, to be commanded by *Skippon*, and *Maffey*; for the Officers wanted *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* to have that Command, and took great Pains to dissuade their Soldiers from this Service. Some of the principal Officers signed a Declaration against the Charge of Mutiny: But, the same Day it was presented to the House, the Commons voted that the Army should be disbanded, and the Soldiers to have six Weeks Pay when dismissed. The *Self-denying Ordinance* was now no longer regarded, and *Skippon* took his Seat in Parliament, where he presented a Complaint of eight Regiments of Horse, alledging their Reasons why they would not serve in *Ireland*. The Parliament sent *Cromwell*, *Skippon*, *Ireton*, and *Fleetwood*, to disband the Army, which was pouring Oil upon the Flame, as they were the very Persons who had raised the Mutiny. *Cromwell* founded a Plan for rendering the Constitution of the Army an Epitome of that of the Kingdom. The Field Officers and Captains sat in the nature of Peers; the Commons were chosen out of the Subalterns, and the most sensible of the private Men, under the Name of *Agitators*, whose Province it was to collect together all the Grievances of their Constituents, and lay them before the superior Court, who carried them to the General, and he acted as their Head, like a King

King among the ancient *Saxons*; but without any other A. D. Power than was allowed him by *Cromwell* and his ¹⁶⁴⁷ Friends. These two Councils were afterwards continued, and composed a sort of Parliament in the Army, in Opposition to the two Houses, which gave great Advantage to the Heads of the Independent Party, as they easily found Means to admit only such as were devoted to them, or not of sufficient Ability to discover their Designs.

GENERAL *Fairfax* was the unhappy, but unconscious, unwilling Instrument of the Prolongation of his Country's Misery: He had been almost deified by Parliamentary Flattery, and was idolized even among the Authors of military Rudeness. The Army was now modelled in such a Manner, that they no longer looked upon themselves as the Servants, but the Masters of the Parliament; and *Cromwell* pointed out to *Fairfax* the Divisions and Distractions both in Church and State: The one being so full of Sectarism, and the other of Dissatisfaction, that scarcely two Divines could agree upon the same Standard of Faith, or two Statesmen upon the same Scheme of Measures; which rendered the Army the Principle of Unity, and the Center to where all Limits must be directed. The Independents may be considered no more as Rebels to the Presbyterians, than the Presbyterians were to the King; and the former compleated what the latter had began. The Parliament began to surrender themselves, and their Power, into the Hands of their own Army, whom they durst not drive to Extremities, as they knew the Discord was fomented by the Leaders of the Independents. The Army was now become a sort of Republic, where the Suffrages of the common Soldiers were upon a Level with those of the Generals; nor would the common Soldiers ask Advice of their Officers. From hence sprang those Confusions, which were suffered to prevail. *Cromwell* got it insinuated to the Troops, that the Presbyterians intended to make a Reconciliation with the King, and place him at the Head of another Army. The *Agitators* thought they had as much Right as the Parliament

A. D. 1647. Parliament to be Goalers of the King, and that his Person was the only Pledge they could have for their own Safety ; therefore they suddenly formed and executed the most sensible Measure that could be pursued by Men in their Circumstances ; which was to seize the Person of the King. The *Agitators*, distinct from the Council of War, were secretly persuaded by *Cromwell* to undertake both the Glory and the Danger of the Enterprize. Accordingly, on the 3d of June, Cornet *Joyce*, with a select Detachment of 50 Troopers, set out from *Oxford*, and arrived at *Holmby* the same Night, when the King was in Bed : *Joyce* abruptly went into his Bed-chamber, and demanded his Person : The King required him to produce his Commission ; but *Joyce* said he had no Warrant from *Fairfax* ; and that what he had done was the Sense of his Soldiers, telling his Majesty, " There, Sir, is my Commission ; " and pointed to his Soldiers : Truly, said the King, who saw the Party to be well mounted, " I never saw a Commission written " in more legible Characters." The Commissioners protested against this Transaction ; but *Joyce* was resolute, and the King put himself into his Hands, who conducted him to *Newmarket*, where the General had appointed a Rendezvous of the Army. *Fairfax* was uneasy at what *Joyce* had done, and demanded by what Authority he acted : But *Cromwell* and *Ireton* justified the *Agitators*, by informing him, that Colonel *Graves* was to have delivered the King into the Hands of the Parliament.

THE King, for some Time, seemed more at Ease in the Hands of the Army, than when he was in the Power of the Parliament, for he had greater Indulgence ; but that was only to make his Destruction the more certain. The Parliament expressed their Disapprobation of these Measures ; which induced the Army to advance towards *London*, and rise in their Demands, as the Parliament had before done upon the King. They protested, their Design was not to overthrow Presbytery, and establish the Independent Government ; but it was manifest they wanted a share in the Civil Government, especially

especially as they brought Articles of Accusation against A. D. eleven of the principal Members in the House of Commons, for infringing the Liberties of the Nation, and fomenting Jealousies between the Parliament and the Army: Upon which the accused Members thought proper to quit their Seats in the House, as it was the best Expedient for satisfying their Accusers.

THE rigid Presbyterians, seconded by the Common-Council of *London*, entered into an Engagement to oppose the Army; which threw the Parliament into greater Perplexity, as they were obliged to vote that the King should come to *London*. The Citizens prepared to arm themselves, under Major General *Maffey*, who had quitted the Army; and General *Fairfax* advanced towards the City, with 20,000 Men; when he was joined by the two Speakers, and 66 Members of both Houses; which gave him a good Pretence to march to *London*, for reinstating some Members supposed to be driven from the Parliament by the Populace.

FROM this Time, the Army would no more acknowledge the two Houses for a Parliament, but paid to the Speakers and Members who attended them, the same Respect as they would have done to the Parliament itself. The Army was encamped on *Hounslow-Heath*, and the Common-Council of *London* submitted to the General; who, on the 6th of *August*, came to *Westminster*, and restored the Members to their Seats; for which he received the Thanks of both Houses, and was appointed Constable of the Tower.

THE King received great Civilities from the Army, who promised to restore him to his just Rights: But he was deceived by *Cromwell*, and vainly imagined the two Parties would accept him for their Mediator. Since his Removal from *Holmby*, he had followed the Motions of the Army, and was lodged in the Houses of neighbouring Gentlemen: At last, when the Army was at *Hounslow-Heath*, he was conducted to *Hampton-Court*, where he was treated with little Marks of Respect, and continued for a considerable Time, as if he had been forgot by all Parties. The Parliament, in *September*, renewed

A.D. renewed their Propositions to him, when it was in 1647. the Power of neither of them to act. The Army suspected, that the King had been privately treating with the Scotch Commissioners; and Major Huntington, who had been employed to amuse the King with several private Messages, informed him, that Cromwell was not sincere, and would destroy him, if he was not prevented. His Majesty had borne his Confinement and Afflictions with great Resignation: But now he had Reason to think he should be more severely treated, if not assassinated; which made such an Impression upon him, that he resolved to endeavour to make his Escape. This he effected in a dark and tempestuous Night, on the 11th of November, attended by Sir John Berkley, Colonel Legge, and Mr. Aſburnham; who conducted him to the New-Forest in Hampshire, with an Intention of passing the Sea: But, as no Ship was ready, his Majesty was prevailed on to put himself under the Protection of Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, who was reputed an honourable Gentleman; but was so much a Dependent upon Cromwell, that he would not promise the King a safe Protection; though his Majesty put himself into his Hands, and the Colonel conducted him to Carisbrook-Castle, in that Island, where he was treated with all Demonstrations of Respect.

It may well be imagined, that Cromwell facilitated the Escape of the King, with a View to bring on his Ruin in a very uncommon Manner. The Parliament was so much struck with the News of the King's Escape, that they made it High-Treason to conceal him, by a Majority of 61 against 50. But, on the 15th of November, they were put out of their Pain by Letters from Hammond; and, next Day, they voted the King to be confined in Carisbrook-Castle, without suffering any of his Friends and Adherents to remain upon the Island. The Parliament still offered their Propositions to the King, who resolutely refused to comply with their Demands, in the Abolition of Episcopacy, and to sign the Act investing them with the Militia: Upon which they voted,

voted, "That no more Addresses should be made to A. D. the King, nor any Letters or Message received from 1647. him, upon Pain of High-Treason."

THE *Scotch* were now so much exasperated with the *English*, that they were heartily disposed to serve the King; and offered, if he would make his Escape to *Berwick*, to stand by him with their whole Power. The *Scotch* Commissioners privately concluded a Treaty with the King, on the 26th of *December*; which the Lord *Clarendon* represents as the most unjust Treaty that could be imposed upon his Majesty: For they bound him to confirm the *League and Covenant*; to establish the *Presbyterian Government* for three Years, and suppress *Independency*; to endeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms; and to employ those of the *Scotch* Nation equally with the *English* in all foreign *Negotiations*: In Return for which, the *Scotch* agreed, to endeavour to get all Armies disbanded, and Things settled in a peaceable Manner; or, if that could not be effected, they would send an Army into *England* for the Preservation of Religion, the Defence of his Majesty, the Privilege of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject. But the above-mentioned illustrious Historian farther observes, "This Treaty contained so many monstrous Concessions, that, except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewise imprisoned in *Caerisbrook-Castle* with the King, it could not be imagined, that it was possible to be performed." Tho' this may have been said with too much Heat; for his Majesty might have easily made his Escape by Sea, as the Islanders were intirely in his Interest; and, if he had got into *Scotland*, he might have preserved himself from Ruin, which is plain from the Behaviour of the *Scotch*, who afterwards actually marched a numerous Army to his Assistance. But, on his Refusal to make the desired Concessions, he was made a close Prisoner by the *English* Parliament; and his Death was resolved on by *Cromwell*, who feared his Escape, and dreaded his receiving foreign Assistance; especially, as the Kings of *France* and *Spain* were now settling their Differences, and might send

A. D. send a Body of Troops into *England*. But the close
1647. Confinement of the King occasioned Captain *Burleigh* to
beat up the Drum for his Service and Freedom in the
Isle of Wight; for which he was apprehended, and exe-
cuted.

A. D. THERE had been, for some Time, a new Faction
1648. in the Army, called *Levellers*, who declared, " That
" all Degrees of Persons should be *levelled*, and an E.
" quality established both in Titles and Estates, through
" out the Kingdom :" Which was a Doctrine similiar
to what was preached by the Followers of *Wat Tyler*,
in the Reign of *Richard II*. These Men consisted of the
Agitators, and private Soldiers, who had little Restraint
upon them, during the Contests between the Army and
Parliament; and pretended they had as much Right as
their Officers to settle the Government. The Generals
were afraid of their Insolence: But *Cromwell* undertook,
with the Hazard of his Life, to reduce and punish the
Ringleaders, which he boldly executed, and totally
subdued that Party of the Army, so that it was reduced
to entire Obedience; though the *levelling* Spirit conti-
nued and increased very much in the Kingdom.

ALL Intercourse was now stopt between the King
and Parliament, by the Advice of *Cromwell*, who go-
verned *Fairfax*, as much as that General governed the
Army, or the Army governed the Parliament. *Crom-
well*, in several Instances, may be compared to *Julius
Cæsar*: Like the *Roman*, he had conquered his own
Country by the Arms of his Countrymen: And, after he
had subverted the Constitution, he preserved the Ap-
pearance of a Parliament, as *Cæsar* preserved the
Shadow of the Senate. The Independents were not only
the Mouth of the Army, but were now also very num-
rous in Parliament; having all the other Sectaries in-
cluded under their Name; such as *Anti-Trinitarians*,
Arians, *Socinians*, *Anti-Scripturalists*, *Anabaptists*, *Antino-
mians*, *Arminians*, *Familyists*, *Brownists*, *Separatists*, *Li-
bertines*, and *Seekers*; whose Principles were inconsistant
with Monarchy, Episcopacy, and Presbytery. Their
Aim was to establish a Commonwealth in the State, and
abolish

abolish all ecclesiastical Authority in the Church. To A. D. execute their Designs, they had at first joined with the ^{1648.} Presbyterians, on Pretence of establishing Presbyterianism; but, in Reality, to destroy the King; and, now he was unable to hurt them, they laboured to ruin the Presbyterians, on whose Backs they had been climbing to all their Power.

THE Interests and Views of the Presbyterians were very different; as they principally extended to the Abolition of Episcopacy: And it was their Opinion, as well as the general Sense of the Nation, that the King should be reinstated in the Throne; but on such Terms as should hinder the Constitution of the Government from being liable to the same Danger as before this Parliament. The People saw, the Interest of the Nation did not require that Royalty should be abolished; or the King reduced so low as to be disabled from executing the Laws, and protecting his Subjects: But the Interest of the Independents required the former; and that of the Presbyterians the latter: Wherein consisted the Difficulties of the King's Restoration.

THE Royalists, though overthrown, were still very numerous; and had their Hopes revived from the Assistance of the Scotch, whose Views and Interests were entirely compatible with those of the English Presbyterians: But the Design of the Royalists, was not to deliver the Person of the King out of the Hands of the Independents, to leave him at the Mercy of the Presbyterians: Therefore, if they had succeeded in their general Design, they might have disunited, and begun a new War about Episcopacy, which the King never intended should be abolished, though the Queen and the Court of France advised him to promise at least to the contrary.

THE Transactions of both Houses of Parliament from August 1647, to June 1648, should be considered as directed by the Army, or leading Independents: But the Presbyterians still retained the Majority, and were ready to act as became themselves when the Scotch should enter England, and render them free from the Restraint of the

A. D. Independent Army, which held the Sword to their
1645. Throat whenever they attempted to speak.

THE Army had done what lay in their Power to lessen the Number of their Adversaries in the City of *London*, by causing the Lord-Mayor, some Aldermen, and several Common Council-Men, to be accused, and imprisoned, for a Tumult made by the Apprentices, who obliged the Parliament to vote that the King should return to *London*. However, the Presbyterian Party was still superior in the City; and the Citizens were ready to do whatever was in their Power to be revenged of the Army; whose General was now become Lord *Fairfax*, on the Death of his Father, and was a real Presbyterian, tho' he suffered himself to be guided by *Cromwell*, the Head of the Independents. But *Fairfax* kept the Command of the Army to avoid a greater Mischief, for Fear, if he resigned his Commission, it should be given to *Cromwell*, as it would certainly have been.

THE greatest Revolution that ever happened in the *English* Government is now approaching. There seemed to be a strict Union between the Parliament and Army, since it was resolved to present no more Addresses to the King: And Lord *Fairfax* sent two Regiments to protect the Parliament from the Insults of the Citizens: But the popular Discontent was very great, and the People were ready to rise in Arms for the Deliverance of their Prince.

THE *Scotch* Parliament assembled on the 10th of March, to consider of the Treaty which their Commissioners had concluded with the King, whose Interest was strongly supported by the injured Duke of *Hamilton*, and as violently opposed by the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had contracted a firm Friendship with *Cromwell* and *Vane*. It was represented, that the *English* Army kept the King in Captivity; and that the Parliament had in Reality deposed him by divesting him of all his Prerogatives: Besides, they had made other manifest Breaches of the *Covenant* between the two Kingdoms; and that *Scotland* ought to resent this Affront, or become subject to *England*. A Committee of Danger was appointed, consisting of twenty-four Members, of whom the Duke of *Hamilton* was President; who had Power to provide for

the

the Safety of the Kingdom, and gave Orders for raising A. D. an Army of 40 000 Men, to put it in a Posture of Defence: But *Argyle*, and the rigid Clergy, made such a strong Opposition against these Proceedings, that the levying of this Army was retarded much longer than it ought to have been; and, at last, it amounted to no more than 14,000 Men.

THE Scotch Commissioners had taken Care to apprise the Royal Party in *England* of the Treaty with the King, and in what Manner they were to give him Assistance; which stirred up the sleeping Embers of Loyalty in several Parts of the Kingdom, and served to cast a Gleam of Comfort over the Gloom that had shrouded the Head of drooping Majesty. All *England* was struck with Horror, at a Declaration which the Army had presented to the Parliament; whereby they intimated their Resolution of settling the Kingdom against the King, who was in a miserable Condition at *Carisbrooke*; but bore all his Hardships there, and the cruel Aspersions thrown upon his Character, with a noble Fortitude, and unexampled Piety. Though *Cromwell* was now Master of the King, the General, the Parliament, the City, and the Army, the Nation in general thought as freely as ever, and looked with Indignation on the Handful of Miscreants who kept them in Chains. The Bulk of the Presbyterians became well-affected to the Royal Cause, being headed by the Earl of *Holland*, Sir *William Waller*, the Generals *Poyer* and *Laughern*, with other Officers and Persons of Distinction, who had signalized themselves against the King. The Royalists trusted chiefly to old *Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, who undertook for the Southern Provinces; as Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had done for the North. The Scotch Army was to be commanded by the Duke of *Hamilton*; while *Laughern* and *Poyer* were to command in *Wales*; so that every Thing seemed in a prosperous Condition for the Restoration of the King.

THE Duke of *York* escaped in Disguise from *London* to *Holland*, where he was met by the Prince of *Wales*, who was invited there on a strong Assurance that the

A. 1648. *English* Seamen dreaded the Army, and were ripe for a Revolt, which would put him at the Head of the *English* Fleet. Several Tumults happened in different Parts of the Kingdom, particularly in *London* and *Norwich*, where the People had most severely felt the Miseries of parliamentary and military Government: But *Cromwell* entered *London* with two Regiments of Horse, killed some of the Mutineers, and dispersed the others. Many Counties presented Petitions to the Parliament in Favour of the King; and, on the 28th of *April*, the Commons declared, "That they would not alter the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, by Kings, Lords, and Commons." This brought on a **SECOND CIVIL WAR**; and all the Nation was again in Arms.

THE first that actually took up Arms were the *Welch*, under the Conduct of *Laughern* and *Poyer*. While Preparations were made for an Insurrection in *Kent*; a fierce Storm was collecting in the North; and Associations were forming in almost every County to appear in Arms for the King, with an Intention of bringing his Enemies to a personal Treaty. These vigorous Preparations for a War became so very formidable to the Rulers of the Army, that they appointed a *Committee of Safety*, consisting of seven Lords and thirteen Commoners, who, like the *Committee of Danger* in *Scotland*, were empowered to raise Forces, and suppress Insurrections. The Army was divided; and small Parties sent to those Places where the Royalists were weakest; but the three main Bodies were commanded by *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and *Lambert*.

GENERAL *Laughern* had assembled 8000 Men in *North-Wales*; and *Cromwell* was sent with two Regiments of Horse, and three of Foot, to reinforce Colonel *Horton*, who commanded there for the Parliament with 3000 Men. But, before *Laughern* had procured Arms for his Men, *Horton* came up with him at *St. Fagons* in *Glamorganshire*, got between his Horse and Foot, and compleatly routed them; killing near 1500, and making about 3000 Prisoners. After this Defeat, *Cromwell* left Colonel *Ewer* to besiege *Chester* Castle, which was soon reduced; while *Cromwell* himself laid Siege to

Pembroke,

Pembroke, where he met with a gallant Resistance from A. D. General Poyer, who was at last obliged to surrender; 1648. and was sentenced to be shot by a Court-Martial, which was executed in *Covent-Garden*. Thus *Cromwell* completed the Reduction of *Wales*, and then marched towards the North, with Orders to oppose the *Scots*, who were beginning to invade *England*.

DURING these Transactions in *Wales*, there were Commotions in *Kent* no less dangerous to the Army; which were too prematurely put into Execution by Mr. *Roger l'Estrange*, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, who persuaded Mr. *Hales* to raise the Country sooner than was intended. Mr. *Hales* was a young Gentleman of great Fortune, and the *Kentish* People owned him for their General: But, their Number being increased to 10,000, they were then headed by the Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *William Waller*, who advanced to *Blackheath*, in Hopes of Assistance from the *Londoners*; but the Citizens were afraid to declare at such a Juncture. This obliged the Earl of *Norwich* to retire to *Maidstone*, where he was pursued by Lord *Fairfax*, who stormed the Town, slew many, and took a great Number Prisoners.

THE Earl of *Norwich* was deserted by many of his Men; yet found Means to pass the *Thames* at *Greenwich* in Boats, with about 800 Soldiers, and join his Friends in *Essex*, where the Inhabitants were in the same Disposition as those in *Kent*. The Lord *Capel*, Sir *George Lisle*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and some other Gentlemen, had assembled about 2000 Men, with which they joined the Earl of *Norwich*, and retired to *Colchester*, where they threw up several Works, to defend themselves from Lord *Fairfax*, who invested the Town; and, after a long and bloody Siege, wherein he reduced the Garrison to all the Extremities of Famine, obliged it to surrender on his own Conditions. Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Charles Lucas*, two brave and intimate Friends, were shot to Death by Sentence of the Council of War: While the Earl of *Norwich*, and Lord *Capel*, were sent Prisoners to *Windsor-Castle*; which allayed the Insurrections in *Kent* and *Essex*.

A. D. 1648. *WHILE* Lord Fairfax was at Colchester, Henry Rich, Earl of Holland, assembled a few Troops at Kingston upon Thames, where he was joined by George Villiers, the young Duke of Buckingham, and Henry Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough: Upon which the Parliament declared them Traitors, and the Londoners were afraid of giving them any Assistance. The Earl of Holland had only 500 Men, which were routed near Kingston by Colonel Levesey, and the Remainder retired to St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, where they were surprized by Colonel Scroop; and Lord Francis Villiers, Brother to the Duke of Buckingham, was slain; the Earl of Holland was taken Prisoner, and sent to Warwick Castle: But the Duke of Buckingham made his Escape; whereby this ill-concerted Enterprize was ended.

SIR Marmaduke Langdale assembled 4000 Men in the North, with which he made himself Master of Berwick and Carlisle, where he waited till the Arrival of the Scotch Army: After which the Royalists surprized Pontefract-Castle; and Scarborough revolted to the King. About the same Time, the Seamen on Board the Fleet in the Downs, refused to serve the Parliament, sent their Officers on Shore, revolted to the King, sailed to Holland, and received the Prince of Wales on Board; who intended to seize Yarmouth, but was disappointed. He then appeared off the Mouth of the Thames, where the Earl of Warwick commanded a superior Fleet for the Parliament; which obliged the Prince to return to Holland; where he was deterred by many Ships, who returned again to the Service of the Parliament.

THE Duke of Hamilton had met with great Opposition in levying the Scotch Army, from the Marquis of Argyle, and the violent Covenanters: However, he assembled an Army, consisting of 4000 Horse, and 10,000 Foot, all raw and undisciplined Men, without so much as one Field-piece in their Train. The Prince of Wales was expected to put himself at the Head of this Army, while Cromwell was reducing his Principality: But his Royal Highness continued in Holland, as the English Parliament had voted, that all Persons who assisted the Scotch

Scotch should be deemed Traitors; and, on the 9th of A. D. July, the Duke of *Hamilton* marched his Army into ¹⁶⁴³ *England*, in Consequence of the *Isle of Wight Treaty*, to set the King at Liberty. The Duke marched to *Carlisle*, where he was joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* with 4000 Foot, and 800 Horse. He should have marched directly to *London*, while *Fairfax* was besieging *Colchester*, and *Cromwell* reducing *Wales*: But he continued near a Month in the Northern Counties, and gave *Cromwell* an Opportunity of bringing his Army against him, which ruined the Enterprize. The Duke at last advanced to *Preston* in *Lancashire*, where he halted till the 17th of *August*, when *Cromwell* came up, and attacked him near that Town. *Cromwell* made a furious Charge upon *Langdale's* Party, who lay between him and the Scotch; and, after an obstinate Dispute, *Langdale* was beat into the Town of *Preston*, where he was pursued by *Cromwell* with such Violence, that the Scotch Generals were seized with a Panic, and immediately quitted the Town, with the Loss of 5000 Men, either killed or taken Prisoners, leaving the brave English to be cut in Pieces. The Scotch retreated from Post to Post, and were again attacked at *Winwick*, where they had 1000 Men killed, and 2000 taken Prisoners. From thence they were pursued with great Slaughter to *Warrington-Bridge*, where all their remaining Infantry, under Lieutenant-General *Bailey*, surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, on the 19th of *August*; while the Duke of *Hamilton* fled to *Utoxeter* in *Staffordshire*, with 3000 Horse, where most of them were made Prisoners by the Lord *Grey of Groby*.

CROMWELL informed the Parliament of his Success, and told them, that the Scotch Army consisted of 21,000 Men; but that his own amounted to no more than 8600. Thus the *Second Civil War* was as unsuccessful to the King as the first; and all his principal Friends were Prisoners as well as himself. The Duke of *Hamilton* was confined in *Windsor-Castle*, where he continued till the Death of the King, whose Fate he

A. D also shared upon the Scaffold, together with the Earl of 1648. *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, who were all sacrificed to the Revenge of that Arch-Traitor *Cromwell*.

THE victorious Army was conducted by their Leader into *Scotland*, where General *Monro* was at the Head of 3000 Veterans, and had defeated the Marquis of *Argyle*. *Cromwell* reduced *Carlisle* and *Berwick* to their former Obedience: After which, he was met by many of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry, who conducted him with great Pomp to *Edinburgh*, and treated him with as much Respect as if he had been the Deliverer of their Country. The Committee of Estates complied with all his Demands, and compelled General *Monro* to disband his Troops; while *Cromwell* returned to *England*, after settling every Thing in *Scotland*, and leaving three Regiments of Horse under Major-General *Lambert* for the Protection of *Edinburgh*.

CROMWELL arrived in *London*, where he received the Thanks of the Parliament for his Services. The Royalists, in his Absence, might have done the King signal Service, if they had behaved with a little more Policy, and much less Passion: But these *Cavaliers* so openly shewed, that their Design was to restore the King without Terms, that they obliged the *Presbyterians* to be upon their Guard, and even to oppose them, instead of acting jointly with them, as the *Cavaliers* expected. The secluded Members of Parliament ventured to return to their former Seats; which gave the *Presbyterians* a Majority over the *Independents*: However, they were unconcerned in all the late Insurrections in several Parts of the Kingdom, except in *Kent*, where some General Officers and *Reformadoes* were willing to engage. The Designs of all the three contending Parties were so opposite, that if any one had prevailed, the other two would have been infallibly ruined; therefore the *Presbyterians* resolved to take Advantage of the Absence of the Army during the Commotions, of the Number of their Voices in Parliament, and of their Interest in the City, to conclude a Peace with the King. The Parliament, from the End of *May*, must be considered as

as Presbyterian; because all the Votes were now directed ^{A.D.} by that Party; as they had been, from the 6th of *August* ^{1649.} to that Time, by the Independent Faction. The seven accused Peers, and eleven Commoners, were discharged: The Magistrates of *London* were released from their Imprisonment, and the City Militia was sent to guard the Parliament. The City of *London* petitioned the Parliament to come to a personal Treaty with the King; but the Parliament were unwilling to come to such a Negotiation, without being first secure of the three Conditions, which were to be the Foundation of the Peace; as they were to settle every Thing relating to the Militia, the Church, and the royal Proclamation. The Vote forbidding any Addresses to his Majesty, was annulled; and the Lords, and Common-Council of *London*, were for a Treaty, without the previous Conditions; which gave the Independent Party an Opportunity of obstructing it for a considerable Time, their Intention being to retard any Negotiation with his Majesty till the Return of the Armies commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, when they knew they might command every Thing their own Way again. The *Scotch* Army had now entered *England*, to act solely for the Service of the King, and to restore him without Terms, though it was not thought proper to declare it openly; which gave great Spirits to the Royalists: Yet the Treaty was still postponed. The first Resolution of the Commons to treat with the King was on the 24th of *May*: They did not desert from the three previous Conditions till the 28th of *July*: And it was on the 18th of *September* before the Negotiation began; before which Time *Cromwell* had defeated the Duke of *Hamilton*; and *Fairfax*, after taking *Colchester*, had posted his Army within twenty Miles of *London* to awe the Parliament. The good Success of the Army made the Presbyterians less powerful, and the Independents more bold; while the King, losing all Hopes from the *Scotch* and the Royalists, found himself indispensably obliged to yield in a Treaty, what he would never have granted, if the Face of Affairs had not received such a great and unexpected Alteration.

A. D. 1644. **HOWEVER,** the Parliament at last declared, “ That they would enter into a personal Treaty with his Majesty, for settling the Peace of the Kingdom: That the Treaty should be at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*: and that his Majesty should be in the same State of Freedom as he was last in at *Hampton-Court*.” But *Cromwell* writ to his Friends, “ That it would be a perpetual Ignominy to the Parliament, if they should recede from their former Vote of *no farther Addresses to the King*; and conjured them to remain firm in that Resolution.” The Common-Council of *London*, and the Reformado-Officers, presented Petitions to the same Purpose, as what had been undertaken by the Parliament: While several Thousands of Independents, and several Masters of Ships, presented Petitions, complaining of the Tyranny of the Parliament. But the Parliament had taken too great a Step not to proceed: And five Lords, with ten Commoners, were appointed their Commissioners to treat with the King; who had the Liberty of nominating some Persons to be called to his Assistance; and the Conferences began on the 18th of *September*, which were limited to forty Days only.

THE Conferences were held in the House of Sir *William Hodges*, in *Newport*: When the Commissioners presented to the King the Draughts of the two Bills. By the *first*, the Presbyterian Government was to be established for ever in the Church of *England*. By the *second*, the King was to leave the Power of the Militia for thirty Years, in the Hands of the Parliament. By the *third*, all the King’s Proclamations and Declarations against the Parliament, or their Adherents, were to be recalled. His Majesty could not be prevailed on to grant these Demands; and positively insisted, he would never agree to the Abolition of Episcopacy, which he conceived to be of apostolical Institution. This delayed the Conclusion of the Treaty, and consumed the Time, which the King and Parliament ought equally to have improved. The Point of Episcopacy was the only Article on which the Difficulties occurred; and,

and, at last, the King agreed to abolish all the Hierar- A. D.
chy, except Bishops ; as also to establish Presbyterianism 1648 for three Years : but the Parliament voted all his Offers unsatisfactory ; though he had offered much more than they could have expected.

WHILST both Houses were employed in the Affairs of the Treaty, the Officers of the Army, whose Head Quarters were then at *Windsor*, presented a Remonstrance to the Parliament to obstruct the Peace ; requiring " That " the King should be brought to Justice ; that the Prince, " and Duke of *York* should surrender themselves, or stand " exiled as Traitors ; that there be a certain Succession of " future Parliaments, annual or triennial ; that the Com- " mons should be declared to have the supreme Power ; and " that no King should be admitted but upon Election of " the People, nor should have any negative Voice against " the Commons." The Army also petitioned their General for Justice on the King ; and the Independents, in several Parts of the Kingdom, infused these violent Resolutions into the People. The Parliament prolonged the Term for carrying on the Treaty ; but could not think of agreeing with the King, unless he consented to the Abolition of Episcopacy ; while the Army got his Majesty into their Power. Lord *Fairfax* required Colonel *Hammond* to attend him at the Head Quarters ; and sent Colonel *Ewers*, to take the Command of the King ; which the Parliament voted was contrary to their Resolutions : But their Vote was so much disregarded by the Army, that the General sent an Order for his Majesty to be removed from *Newport* to *Hurst Castle* in *Hampshire*, opposite to the Isle of *Wight* ; which was executed by Lieutenant Colonel *Cobet*, on the 30th of November.

THE Commons voted, " That the carrying the King Prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, was without their Advice or Consent." They also voted, by a Majority of 140, against 104, that the Question should be put, " whether " his Majesty's Concessions to the Propositions of Par- " liament upon the Treaty, were sufficient Grounds for " settling the Peace of the Kingdom ?" which, accord-

A. D^{ing} to Lord *Clarendon*, was so clearly voted, that the
^{1648.} House was not divided.

THE Army attempted to justify their Conduct, by publishing a Declaration, wherein they clearly discovered their Designs, and charged the Parliament with Apostacy from the public Trust. The General then marched his Army to *London*, and demanded 40,000*l.* from the City for the Prevention of Violence. The Parliament was surrounded by Soldiers, on the 26th of *December*, and Forty-one Members seized, as they were going into the House, by Colonel *Pride*, and kept under Guard in the *Court of Wards*. The next Day, the Door of the House of Commons was guarded within and without by Soldiers, who denied Admission to about a Hundred Members; and the House suffered another Revolution: So, from this Day, the Commons must be considered as consisting entirely of Independents, who either absolutely expelled the Presbyterians, or disabled them from supporting their Party.

CROMWELL was now in the House of Commons, whose Members were all Independents, openly supported by the Army; and their Design was to destroy King, Monarchy, Episcopacy, and Presbytery together: Nor could they be opposed by the House of Lords, which had been deprived of all Authority ever since the Battle of *Naseby*. The Earl of *Warwick* sent a Declaration to Lord *Fairfax*, that the Fleet concurred with the Army in the Remonstrance: Upon which, the Resolution was taken by the Commons to bring the King to a Trial, and proceed capitally against him.

ON the 16th of *December*, Colonel *Harrison* was sent with a Party of Horse to remove his Majesty from *Hurst* to *Windfor* Castle, where he arrived on the 23d, and continued 'till the 19th of *January* following, when he was carried to *St. James's*. The Council of War ordered all the usual Ceremonies to the King to be laid aside, and most of his Domestics to be dismissed; while the Committee of the Commons, on the 28th of *December*, reported an *Ordinance* for impeaching *Charles Stewart, King of England*, for High-Treason; and for trying him by Commissioners.

Commissioners. They also passed an Act for erecting A. D. a *High Court of Justice*, with Power to try the King: But ^{1648.} the House of Lords, consisting of only 16 Peers, unanimously rejected the Ordinance.

THE Commons on the 6th of January voted, that A. D. the Concurrence of the Lords was not necessary; as ^{1649.} also, "That the People, under God, are the Original " of all just Power: That the Commons of *England*, " assembled in Parliament, are the supreme Power of " the Nation; and That whatever is enacted by them " has the Force of Law, though the Consent of the " King and House of Peers be not had thereunto." These Principles were directly contrary to the true Constitution of the *English* Government; but it was the Intention of the Independents to turn the Monarchy into a Republic; and the following Days to the 20th were employed in Preparations for the Trial. The Committee of Estates in *Scotland*, residing in *London*, wrote a Letter to the Commons, desiring they would not proceed to try the King, without the Advice of their Nation: It was declared illegal by the Judges; and was loudly complained of by the Presbyterians: But the Independents proceeded in their unprecedented Trial.

THE *High Court of Justice* was appointed, consisting of 150 Commissioners, or Judges; of whom *John Bradshaw*, Serjeant at Law, was President, and 20 or more had Power to proceed. They consisted promiscuously of Members of the House, Officers of the Army, Citizens, and Country Gentlemen: But about 50 that were appointed refused to act; of which Number were *Lord Fairfax*, and the Speaker *Lenthall*. Of those who acted, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were next the President: *Steel* acted as Attorney-General, and *Cook* as Sollicitor: *Dorislaus* and *Ake* were Pleaders against the King: *Phelps* and *Broughton* were Clerks to the Court; and *Westminster-hall* was appointed to be the Place of Trial: In order to which unparalleled Transaction the King was brought from *Windsor* to *St. James's*, by Colonel *Harrison*, on the 19th of January.

THERE

A. D. THERE are frequent Instances in History of Kings
1649. assassinated by their Subjects ; and the *English History*, even since the Conquest, furnishes Examples of two Kings solemnly deposed and imprisoned : But, 'till *Charles I.* it no where appears, that any King was ever tried for his Life, before his own Subjects as Judges. The King was the Fountain of Justice ; and it was represented as absurd to make him liable to Justice, from whom it flows, and derives its whole Authority. The King little apprehended he should be brought to a Trial ; and asserted, " That no earthly Power could justly call " him in Question as a Delinquent." But *Cromwell* told the *Scotch Commissioners*, " That a Breach of Trust " in a King, deserved greater Punishment than any other " Crime." The *States General* ordered their Ambassador to represent to the Parliament, that the Course they were going to take with their King, would be a perpetual Reproach to the Protestant Interest. The Prince of *Wales*, and Prince of *Orange*, offered all that could be expected, to save the Life of his Majesty ; for which, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earls of *Lindsey* and *Southampton*, generously offered their own Heads : But all was ineffectual, and the formal Murder of the King was undertaken by the Regicides.

ON Saturday the 20th of January, the King was brought by a strong Guard, before the High Court of Justice in *Westminster Hall*, where he boldly and chearfully seated himself in a Crimson Velvet Chair ; when the Charge against him was read ; the Substance of which was, " That he had endeavoured to set up a tyrannical Power ; and, to that End, had made War against the Parliament, whereby the Country had been miserably wasted, the public Treasure exhausted, thousands of People lost their Lives, and innumerable other Mischiefs committed." The King refused to plead to this Charge, till he knew by what lawful Authority he was brought there ; and, as his Judges had no other Authority but the Sword, he persisted in his Refusal on the 22d and 23d of the same Month. On the 27th his Majesty was finally brought into Court to have Sentence passed against

against him ; his Refusal being deemed for a Confession ; A. D. but his Majesty desired to be heard before both Houses, 1649. in the Painted Chamber ; which was rejected. It is generally believed, he intended to propose to the Parliament, that he would abdicate the Crown in Favour of his eldest Son, in the same Manner that *Edward the Second* had done in 1327. The President told him, that what he had proposed, was only a farther Denial of the Jurisdiction of the Court, and tended to the Delay of Justice. His Majesty still disowned their Authority, and insisted that he took up Arms to defend the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom : Upon which, *Bradshaw*, after a long Harrangue in Vindication of the Court, recited the Charge, and pronounced Sentence against the King in these Words : “ For all which Treasons, and “ Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, that the said *Charles Stewart*, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and public “ Enemy, shall be put to Death, by the severing his “ Head from his Body.” The Members of the Court approved this Sentence, by holding up their Hands. His Majesty offered to speak after the Sentence ; which *Bradshaw* would not permit, and commanded him to be taken away. The Soldiers behaved very rude and insolent to the King, as they conducted him from the Court, by blowing Tobacco in his Face, and crying out Justice ! Execution ! and one or two, more barbarous than the rest, spit on him, which the King wiped off, and calmly said, “ My Saviour suffered far more than “ this for me.”

On the 28th his Majesty was guarded from his Apartment at *White-hall* to *St. James's*, where Dr. *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, preached before him, from this Text : *In the Day when God shall judge the Secrets of all Men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel, Rom. xi. 16.* On the 29th an extraordinary Ambassador from the States General had his Audience in the House of Commons, whose Business was to intercede for the Life of his Majesty ; but it was determined he should die, and the Warrant was made out for his Execution, signed by *Cromwell*, and Fifty-eight other Commissioners, who were present at

A.D. at passing the Sentence, and ordered it to be executed
1649. before the *Banqueting-House* at *White-Hall*. The Princess *Elizabeth*, and Duke of *Gloucester*, were permitted to take their last Farewell of their condemned Father; which was a most tender, affecting, and melancholy Scene. The next Morning, being the 30th of *January*, the Day appointed for his Execution, his Majesty had the Sacrament administered to him by the Bishop of *London*; and, about Ten o'Clock, was brought from St. *James's* to *White-hall*, by a Regiment of Foot, and a private Guard of Partizans, commanded by Colonel *Thomlinson*, who walked bareheaded on one Side of the King, as Bishop *Juxon* did on the other. His Majesty walked very fast, and desired them to go faster, saying, "He was going to receive a heavenly Crown." He passed about two Hours in his Devotion, in the Cabinet Chamber in *White-Hall*; and, about One, Colonel *Hacker* brought the King through one of the Windows of the *Banqueting House* upon the Scaffold, which was hung with black, and surrounded by Soldiers, who lined each Side of the Streets, and prevented the Approach of an infinite Number of Spectators: Therefore, the King directed his Speech chiefly to Bishop *Juxon*, and Colonel *Thomlinson*, who were upon the Scaffold with *Hacker* and some other Gentlemen.

His Majesty spoke to the following Purpose: "If he held his Peace, it would make some think he submitted to the Guilt as well as the Punishment; but he thought it his Duty to God and his Country, to clear himself as an honest Man, a good King, and a good Christian. He first vindicated his Innocency, by saying, all the World knew he never began a War first with the two Houses of Parliament; and calling God to Witness, that he never intended to encroach upon their Privileges: So that, as to the Guilt of those enormous Crimes that were laid against him, he hoped God would clear him of it: Yet, he said, God forbid he should lay it on the two Houses of Parliament, whom he hoped were free of this Guilt; for he believed, that ill Instruments between them and him had been the chief Cause of all this

this Bloodshed. But he would not be so ill a Christian as A. D. to say, that God's Judgments were not just upon him, as he ^{1649.} many Times pays Justice upon an unjust Sentence ; and that he would only say this, that an unjust Sentence he suffered to take Effect, was punished now by an unjust Sentence upon him." By this his Majesty meant the Death of the Earl of Strafford: After which, he proceeded to shew, that he was a good Christian, by declaring, "that he forgave all the World, and even those in particular, that had been the chief Cause of his Death, whom he prayed God to forgive, and wished they might endeavour the Peace of the Kingdom. He said, they were wrong in pursuing every Thing they wanted, by the Way of Conquest, which is never just, except in a good Cause, either for Matter of Wrong, or just Title ; and if they went beyond it, that made it unjust at the End, which was just at first. He told them, they would never do right, 'till they had given God his Due, by regulating the Church, which he recommended to be done by a free National Synod ; 'till they had given the King his Due, that is, his Successors ; for which the Laws of the Kingdom would clearly instruct them ; and 'till they had given the People their Due, in governing them by those Laws by which their Life and their Goods may be most their own : It was for this, he said, he came there ; and was the *Martyr of the People* meaning for them : He declared that he died a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of *England*, as he found it left by his Father." His Majesty then began to prepare for the fatal Blow, in which he was assisted by the pious Bishop, to whom the King gave his *George*, and bid him, "remember to send it the Prince." He then put his Hair under his Cap, and stript into his Waistcoat ; after which he stood and prayed with great Fervency ; then laid his Neck upon the Block ; and, after a short Pause, stretched forth his Hands as a Signal for the Executioner, who severed his Royal Head from the Body at one Blow. Two Men in Disguises and Vizors stood upon the Scaffold for Executioners : Captain *Herwlet* was condemned for being one of them, after the Restora-
tion :

A. D.tion : But some say it was *Brandon*, the common Hang-
^{1649.} man, who cut off the King's Head : *Hugh Peters*, and others, were also suspected of doing it : Though *Lilly* asserts, that *Spavin*, who was Secretary to *Cromwell*, told him that it was done by Lieutenant Colonel *Joyce*. The Blood was taken up by several Persons for different Ends : By some as Trophies of their Villany ; by others as Relics of his Martyrdom. The King suffered Death with great Constancy, and without shewing the least Sign of Weakness or Amazement. His Body was embalmed and exposed to View in *White-hall*, in a Coffin covered with black Velvet, 'till the 7th of *February*, when it was delivered to his Servants to be removed to *Windsor*, where it was privately interred in the *Chapel Royal* on the 9th, attended by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Southampton*, and Bishop *Juxon*, who was not permitted to say the Burial Service according to the Liturgy ; and therefore the Body was silently committed to the Vault, about the Middle of the Choir, near *Henry the Eighth*, and *Jane Seymour*.

THUS perished King *Charles the First*, by his Subjects, in the 49th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign ; 62 Years after the Death of his Grandmother, who was executed by the Queen of *England* ; and her Grandson by a faction among the People. *Montaign* says, that he read over two *Scotch Authors*, of which he who stands for the People, makes Kings to be in a worse Condition than a Carter : And he who writes for *Monarchy*, places him some Degrees above God Almighty in Power and Sovereignty. He says, he is sorry there is no Medium ; as he knows of no Necessity for either. Such have been the Notions of Government in both Extreams ; and both were unhappily experimented in this Reign : So that it is a difficult Thing to give a just Character of *Charles the First*, amidst the excessive Commendations bestowed on him by some, and the Calumnies where-with others have endeavoured to blacken his Reputation. He was certainly a Prince of uncommon Piety, Temperance, and Chastity : A kind Husband, a tender Father,

Father, and a good Master. He abhorred all Debauchery, and could not endure a prophane or obscene Word ; which made his Court very different from his Father's, where Obscenity in Discourse was too much in Fashion. He had a good Taste for Learning, and a more than ordinary Skill in the liberal Arts, especially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals, of which he acquired the noblest Collection of any Prince in his Time, and more than all the Kings of *England* before him. He spoke several Languages very well, and wrote many Treatises with strong Sense, and a *Laconic* Stile. Lord *Clarendon* says, " he was so great a Lover of Justice, that no Temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action; except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just :" Which may be very true, if applied to the Concerns of particular Persons : But, besides the Justice which a King ought to administer impartially to private Persons ; there is another kind of Justice due from him to all his People in general. King *Charles* had the Example of *Louis* the Eleventh of *France* to endeavour at an arbitrary Power ; who, as *Mezeray* observes, had even Government without Council, and most commonly without Justice and Reason. King *Charles* was as frugal as his Father was lavish ; but Sincerity was not his favourite Virtue ; for which Reason the Parliament could never confide in his Promises. The Rock on which he split was an immoderate Desire of Power, beyond what the Constitution allowed. He had certainly a fixed Aversion to Popery ; though by marrying a Princess of *France*, with as frank Articles for Popery as had before been granted to *Spain*, in Conjunction with his Father, and employing Papists at Court, many People were confirmed in their Suspicions that he intended to re-establish the Romish Religion : But it is evident he was a true Member of the Church of *England*, since he affirmed it on the Scaffold, when it could be of no Service to him to dissemble his Faith ; and Archbishop *Laud* also asserted the same at his Death. He was endued with many Virtues and noble Qualities ; but his Reign was a continual Scene of Errors, and served to.

to verify this Maxim, " That Errors in Government have ruined more Princes than personal Vices." The Duke of *Buckingham*, Archbishop *Laud*, the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Queen herself, principally contributed to the Ruin of this unhappy Prince, whom they so passionately desired to raise higher than his Predecessors. However, *Charles* the First and his Ministers, like *Edward* the Second and his Favourites, all lost their Lives in pursuing the same Projects : Yet most People believed, that *Charles* suffered Death in Maintenance of the Protestant Religion ; and the Church of *England*, in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, having recovered the Advantages she had lost in that of *Charles* the First, appointed the Day of his Death to be kept every Year with Fasting and Humiliation, which has given him the Title of *Martyr*, and occasioned the 30th of *January* to be called the Day of his *Martyrdom* ; for such it really was, if it be considered, that, he died because he would not consent to the Abolition of Episcopacy. His Friends wanted to have his Prerogative ascertained for his own Safety : His Minions endeavoured to have it concealed for their Advantage : And his Enemies struggled to have it reduced, that it might bring him to Destruction. He had too great an Opinion of his Ministers and Judges, by whom he was led into Errors of Government : While he trusted too much for Intelligence to the Queen and her Popish Attendants : But his Virtues made him lamented by his Enemies, who knew he had a great Affection for his People.

THE King bore all his Sufferings with great Calmness and Composure : Upon which Bishop *Burnet* observes, " He died greater than he had lived ; and shewed, " what has been often remarked of the whole Family " of the *Stewarts*, that they bore Misfortunes better " than Prosperity." It was in this Reign, that the *French* first aimed at a Naval Power ; and, though the Affair of *Ship-Money* was a very arbitrary Proceeding, it must be confessed, that King *Charles* employed it in maintaining the Dominion of the Seas.

KING *Charles* had a comely Presence ; with a sweet, grave, but melancholy Aspect. His Face was handsome,

some, regular, and well-complexioned : His Body strong, healthy, and well made ; and, though he was low in Stature, capable of enduring the greatest Fatigues.

He had four Sons and five Daughters, by his Queen *Henrietta Maria*. Of the Sons, *Charles-James* died on the 13th of *May* 1628, at *Greenwich*, soon after he was born : *Charles Prince of Wales* was born on the 29th of *May* 1630 ; and *James Duke of York* on the 14th of *October* 1633 ; both of whom were afterwards Kings of Great-Britain : And *Henry Duke of Gloucester* was born in that City on the 8th of *July* 1639, who died a little after the Restoration. Of the Daughters, *Mary* was born on the 4th of *November*, 1631, and was married to *William Nassau Prince of Orange*, by whom she had King *William III*. *Elizabeth* was born the 28th of *December* 1635, and died unmarried in 1650 ; and *Henrietta* was born the 16th of *June* 1644, who in 1661 married *Philip Duke of Orleans*, sole Brother to *Lewis XIV*. King of *France*, and died in 1670 : But *Anne*, and *Catharine*, died in their Infancy.

In 1625, the Plague broke out at *Whitechapel* in *London*, and destroyed 41,313 Persons within the Bills of Mortality ; besides 8848 who died of other Diseases. On the 11th of *February*, 1632, most of the Houses on *London-Bridge* were burnt down ; but they were soon rebuilt, though they obstructed the Passage over it. In 1635, *Thomas Parr*, a Native of *Pitchford* near *Shrewsbury*, was presented at Court to the King, in a perfect State of Health, though in the 152d Year of his Age : but the Change of Air and Diet soon put an End to his Life, and he was buried in *Westminster-Abbey*.

IL-FATED Monarch ; too good-natur'd Man !
Who shall presume th' Almighty's Will to scan ?
Ammon may vainly claim from *Jove* his Reign :
But thy Afflictions teach us Kings are Men.
Perhaps, to awe Mankind, it was decreed
That Heav'n's anointed, *Britain's King*, shou'd bleed :
Else why shou'd Virtue, such asthine, sink down ;
And petty Tyrants rob thee of thy Crown !

The

The Bourbon to the Austrian Line preferr'd,
 Gave no Content: in both, thy Judgment err'd.
 No Spark of Romish Pow'r cou'd Britain bear,
 Dreading to have again a Romish Heir:
 Yet, in thy Breast, did pure Religion shine,
 Nor superstitious Rage was ever thine.

WHERE Freedom reigns she cannot bear Restraint,
 From King or Priest, from Senate or from Saint:
 And Pity was it, Charles, that we should see
 Thy sacred Hand oppos'd to Liberty.
 It was enough, like Britain's King to sway,
 When Britain's People justly wou'd obey.
 Extended Pow'r made noble Patriots sigh;
 Who, for their Country, or their King, wou'd die.
 To guard those sacred Rights, so well maintain'd,
 By Chiefs and Sages, when Oppression reign'd,
 England ne'er wanted Sons; who well could draw
 The Sword of Freedom, and assert the Law:
 That Freedom, which insures to Men their own;
 That Law, which of itself protects the Throne.

SEE, gen'rous Hampden, foremost in the Band
 Of Patriots; resolute in their Demand.
 Their Rights confirm'd, they would no farther go;
 But, like pure Streams, in their own Channels flow:
 While others burst their Bounds, impetuous roar,
 And one wide horrid Inundation pour.
 Let poor Hibernia her sad Story tell;
 What Thousands there by papal Fury fell!
 What Thousands more of Papists prest the Plain,
 By Cromwell's Rage, and England's Vengeance slain?
 England and Scotland, in one Cause unite;
 Rigid to hold each Presbyterian Rite:
 Subvert Episcopacy, and confine,
 By Covenant, the King to their Design.
 Then Civil Discord shook her fiery Brand,
 And scatter'd Desolation o'er the Land.
 Essex and Fairfax, ever honour'd Names!
 Just were your Thoughts, and none your Praise defames:

And,

And, *Cromwell*, if thy Heart like their's had been,
England had only breath'd a stagnant Vein;
The *Constitution* had fresh Vigour shown,
And not have perish'd by a *Tyrant's* Frown.

PARTY-Distinction, *Civil Discord* rears;
Opprobrious Terms; *Roundheads*, and *Cavaliers*:
Those serve the *Parliament*, and these the King;
And both array'd in Arms their Terrors bring.
What Blood in *Edgehill's* fatal Field was shed?
Who wept not, when they heard of *Hampden* dead?
How then was War renew'd in bloody Pride,
At *Newbury*, where glorious *Falkland* dy'd!
What other Blood o'er all the Land was spill'd,
'Till *Marston-Moor* one Heap of Carnage fill'd;
'Till *Newbury* was dy'd with Blood again;
And all was lost for *Charles* at *Naseby*'s fatal Plain?

THE *Army*, now victorious in the Field,
Will no just Terms of Zeal, or Honour, yield.
Cromwell forms all, with *Independent Hate*
To kill his Monarch, and destroy the State.
In both successful: While the King they seize,
A destin'd Victim to the Kingdom's Peace.
Barbarians, here, ye might have stopt your Rage!
The royal Eagle was within your Cage:
His Wings displum'd, his Flight had been restrain'd
To mod'rate Bounds, and glorious yet he might have
reign'd.
For captive Royalty each Patriot sighs;
And Rage in each relenting Bosom dies:
They curb'd his Pow'r; but wou'd preserve his Life;
And this brought on another *civil Strife*.
Then *England's* Patriots their weak Forces bring:
Then *Scotland's* Army comes to aid the King.
In vain, at *Preston*, *Cromwell's* Pow'r was shown;
And loyal *Hamilton* was overthrown.
Brave *Liske*, and *Lucas*, most unjustly bled,
At whose hard Fate, his Tears their Monarch shed.
Hard Fate, indeed; but soon to be his own,
While *lawless Tyrants* kept him from his Throne.

Prest

Prest with Misfortunes, *Charles* superior stood,
 Like some firm Promontory o'er the Flood :
 Or like the Sun, whose long be-clouded Ray,
 Darts out, and gilds the Remnant of the Day.
 He griev'd for *Buckingham*'s unhappy End ;
 And *Strafford* much-lamented as his Friend.
 He pity'd *Laud*: Ah ! little thought he then,
 To share the Fate of those illustrious Men.
 Rebels arraign their King: He scorns to plead :
 They stile him Traitor ; and, abhorrent Deed !
 Condemn him by the fatal Axe to bleed.
 He dies ; and *Anarchy* takes up her Reign,
 'Till Heav'n restor'd the Monarchy again.

16 MA 64



A NEW

A NEW
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.

The SIXTH PART.

The R E P U B L I C ; or *Interregnum* :

From the *Martyrdom* of King CHARLES I. in 1649, to the *Restoration* of King CHARLES II. in 1660 : Containing what passed while the *Monarchy* was reduced to a *Democracy* : The *Protectorates* of OLIVER and RICHARD CROMWELL : With the State of Affairs from the End of the *Protectorship* to the *Restoration*.



The COMMONWEALTH of ENGLAND;
O R.

The DEMOCRACY, which was established in 1649, and continued till OLIVER CROMWELL began his Protectorate in 1653.

SOME Ages have been distinguished for War, and others for Peace. The Temple of *Janus* was opened only in the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, when the *Roman Empire*, and the whole World, were blest with a general Peace: But while King *Charles I.* reigned over *Great-Britain*, his own Dominions, and almost the whole World besides, were disturbed by a general War. *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, were groaning between military Contentions; some of which were attended with Civil Revolutions. *Asia* had as little Tranquility as *Europe*: For the *Tartars* conquered *China*; and *India* was filled with Civil Commotions between *Aurengzeb* and his two Brothers, till the former ascended the Throne of the Great *Moghol*; being called a Fanatic by Sir *William Temple*, who compares him to *Cromwell*: As if all such Strains of Empire were enthusiastical, like what happened in *Turky* under the Descendants of *Ottoman*.

BRUTUS expelled *Tarquin*, and founded the Commonwealth of *Rome*, upon glorious Principles; as he occasioned the Expulsion of a real Tyrant, and emancipated his Countrymen from abject Slavery. But this Honour cannot be attributed to *Cromwell*, who murdered a King, expelled his Family, and founded the

Commonwealth of *England*, only to render himself a Tyrant. The Generality of the People of *England* were not pleased to see their Monarch murdered, and the sovereign Power-lodged in the Hands of a few *Independents*, and other Sectaries, who were the Remnant of the House of Commons, which they had purged to their own Inclination, and pretended to represent the whole Body of the People; though their vile Usurpation, and maimed Government, were founded only in Violence, and supported intirely by the Army. The *Independents* themselves, of whom this strange Parliament was chiefly composed, were distinguished by two Principles; one relating to the Civil, and the other to the Ecclesiastical Government. By the former, they asserted, that the Republican Government was the most perfect, and absolutely necessary for *England*, after so many Oppressions from her Kings, who had converted the Government into a real Tyranny: And, by the latter, their Principle was, that every particular Church was independent, and ought to allow of Toleration to the other Sectaries, who joined with them in Republican Sentiments, but had some Difference in religious Matters. The Progress which the *Presbyterians* had been making for eight Years was now become fruitless; and the Storm they had raised against the King, returned upon their own Heads, as an Union between them and the *Independents* was morally impossible; though many *Presbyterians* might have complied with a republican Government, if it had not been in the Hands of the *Independents*, whose Principles upon Toleration were entirely rejected by the *Presbyterians*. While the Royalists were persecuted by both Parties, and were far from joining with either; but conceived just Hopes, that the Division among their Enemies, would some Time give them a good Opportunity of restoring the Monarchy to its former State.

A. D. IMMEDIATELY after the Death of the King, the
1649: House of Commons laid the Foundation of the Commonwealth, by publishing an Act to forbid the proclaiming of *Charles Stewart*, eldest Son of the late King,

King, or any other Person whatever, to be King, or A. D. chief Magistrate, on Pain of High-Treason. They¹⁶⁴¹ voted the House of Lords to be useles and dangerous, and therefore to be abolished; though they left the Lords the Power of being elected Members of Parliament, in common with other Subjects; which Privilege was embraced by very few of the Nobility; some of whom published a Protestation against the Power assumed by the Commons. They passed an Act for abolishing the Office of a King, as unnecessary and dangerous in the Nation; and for governing the State by the Representatives of the People in a House of Commons, without King or Lords, and under the Form of a Commonwealth: Which grand Alteration in the Government was productive of many others in Things consistent with Monarchy, but not with a Commonwealth. Instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, a new Oath was prepared, called *the Engagement*, whereby every Man swore, "That he would be true and faithful to the Government established, without King or House of Peers." A new Great Seal was made; on one Side of which was engraven a *red Cross and Harp*, for the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*; with this Inscription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other, the Portraiture of the House of Commons circumscribed, *In the first Year of Freedom, by God's Blessing restored, 1648*: Which Seal was committed to a certain Number of Persons, who were stiled *Keepers of the Liberties of England*. It was ordained, that all Monies to be coined should be stamped with the *Cross and Harp* on one Side, and the *Cross* on the other; with this Motto, *The Commonwealth of England, God with us*. A Council of State was made for the Administration of public Affairs under the Parliament, consisting of forty Members; among whom were the Earls of *Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury*; the Lords *Grey and Fairfax*; *Oliver Cromwell, Bulstrode, Whitelock, Skippon, Heslerig, Harrington, Vane, Ludlow, and Bradshaw*, who was President. Thus every thing was to be removed which bore any Marks of Royalty; and the long Parlia-

A. D. 1649. ment, which at first was composed of the King, 120 Lords, and 513 Commons, was reduced to a House of Commons, consisting of about 80 Members; of whom very few at the Beginning had an Estate of 500*l.* a Year.

Six of the Judges had refused to accept of Commissions from the Commonwealth; and another *High Court of Justice* was erected for the Trial of Delinquents, consisting of sixty Members, of which *Bradshaw* was President, as he had been of that which condemned the King. This Court was principally intended for trying the Duke of *Hamilton*, as Earl of *Cambridge*; the Earls of *Holland*, and *Norwich*; Lord *Capel*; and Sir *John Owen*; for being concerned in the late Invasions and Insurrections. They were all condemned to lose their Heads: But the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen*, were reprieved; and the other three were executed, on the 9th of *March*, in the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*. Many other Persons were put to Death, on the same Account, in several Parts of the Kingdom; particularly Colonel *Poyer*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Morrice*, Major *Monday*, and Cornet *Blackburn*. While the Marquis of *Newcastle*; the Earl of *Bristol*; the Lords *Cottington*, *Widdrington*, *Culpepper*, and *Byron*; Sir *Edward Hyde*, Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Richard Greenhill*, and others, had their Persons proscribed, and their Estates confiscated: Though some were permitted to compound for their Services to the late King.

THE Parliament consisted of such few Members, that they perceived the Absurdity of styling themselves the Representative of the Commonwealth; and, therefore, admitted some Presbyterians, on Condition of their signing the *Engagement*. Besides, to support their Authority, it was ordered, that an Army of 28,000 Men should be kept up in *England*, and another of 12,000 in *Ireland*, whose Pay should be 80,000*l.* a Month. However, they had the *Levellers* for Enemies, as well as the *Cavaliers*, and *Presbyterians*: For, as the Council of *Agitators* was now abolished in the Army, and eleven Regiments were to be sent into *Ireland*, the

Lev-

Levelling-Party was so much exasperated, that 5000 of them assembled at *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, under one ¹⁶⁴⁹ *Thompson*, who was surprised and routed by Colonel *Reynolds*. The Prisoners were sent to *London*, and some of them executed; which put an End to such Insurrections; in the same Manner as the Death of the two *Gracchi* ended such a popular Tumult in *Rome*.

THE Prince of *Wales* was at the *Hague* when he received the melancholy Intelligence of the tragical Death of his Father, and immediately assumed the Title of King; being then eighteen Years of Age. His Condition was deplorable, as he entirely subsisted on the Generosity of the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother-in-Law; while the States were desirous he should quit their Dominions, especially as *Dr. Dorislaus*, who was one of the Regicides, and was sent as an Agent from *England* to the States, was assassinated at the *Hague* by *Whitford* and five other *Englishmen*. The King knew not where to seek an Asylum: He was sensible that the Queen-Regent of *France*, and *Cardinal Mazarine*, would not prefer his Friendship to that of the Commonwealth of *England*: Besides, he was apprehensive, that the Queen his Mother wanted to govern him, as she had governed his Father: And, therefore, he resolved to go to *Ireland*, where the Situation of Affairs seemed to promise him an honourable Protection. The Peace concluded by the Marquis of *Ormond* with the *Irish* Rebels, in 1646, was soon afterwards broke by the Papists; which obliged the Marquis to deliver *Dublin* and *Drogheda* to the Parliament, rather than see them fall into the Hands of the Rebels; and, accordingly, he surrendered them to Colonel *Jones* in 1647. But, whilst the Process was forming against the late King in *England*, the Marquis of *Ormond* concluded a new Treaty with the Grand Council of the *Irish* assembled at *Kilkenny*; who entrusted the Marquis with the Command of their Army to act against the Parliamentarians; and, after reducing several Places, he undertook the Siege of *Dublin*. This Disposition of Affairs made the young King judge that *Ireland* was a convenient Retreat; where

A. D. *Ormond* might make him Master of the whole Island ;
1649. and afterwards recover his Throne in *England* : But
 News from *Scotland* made him suspend his Resolution of
 going to *Ireland*.

THE *Scotch* Parliament highly disapproved the Proceedings of the Parliament of *England*, and protested against all the Steps that had been taken against the King ; though they were the principal Authors of his Misfortunes, by delivering him into the Hands of the *English*. They recalled their Commissioners from *England*, and proclaimed *Charles* the Second King of *Great-Britain, France, and Ireland* : But with such Restrictions, as left them at Liberty to capitulate with him before they invested him with the Sovereign Authority ; which made the young King receive the News of this Proclamation with great Indifference : Though their Restrictions contained nothing new, and were the natural Consequence of the Troubles begun in 1637. Some *Scotch* Lords attended the King at the *Hague*, who disagreed so much among themselves, that they could not prevail upon him to go into their Country, and he persisted in his Resolution of visiting *Ireland* ; in which he was disappointed by the Defeat of the Marquis of *Ormond*.

THE King first paid a Visit to his Mother in *France*, and sent his heavy Baggage to *Ireland* : While Forces were raising in *England*, to oppose the Union of the *Irish* with the Royalists ; and *Oliver Cromwell*, on the 22d of *June*, was appointed General of all the Forces to be sent into *Ireland*, with absolute Power, as Lord-Governor, over both Civil and Military Affairs in that Kingdom, for three Years. *Cromwell* ordered *Milford-Haven* to be the Rendezvous of his Army, which consisted of 15,000 Men ; where he made the necessary Preparations for an Embarkment, and sent three Regiments before him, to the Relief of *Dublin*, which was invested by the Marquis of *Ormond*, with 19,000 Men : But, on the 2d of *August*, Colonel *Jones* made a Sally upon the Besiegers, at the Head of 8000 Men ; when he totally routed them, killed 3000, and took 2500 Prisoners.

CROM-

CROMWELL was informed of this good Success, A. D. 1649. while he was embarking his Army, with which he safely arrived at *Dublin*, on the 16th of *August*. He soon reduced *Drogheda* by Storm, where Sir *Arthur Aston* commanded with a Garrison of 2500 Foot, and 300 Horse; most of whom were put to the Sword, together with the Governor, who made a glorious Defence. *Trim* and *Dundalk* surrendered to *Cromwell* without any Opposition; which Example was followed by the Garrisons of *Killingkerick*, *Arkloe-Castle*, and other Places. He afterwards reduced *Wexford* by Storm, and put every Man to the Sword who was found in Arms; which Severity had the same Effect as that used at *Drogheda*, by intimidating the other Garrisons, and obliging them to surrender as soon as they were summoned. *Ross*, *Kingsale*, *Cork*, *Youghal*, *Bandon-Bridge*, and other Places, readily submitted: But *Cromwell* was obliged to raise the Siege of *Waterford*, on Account of the Winter. He took the Field again in *January*, and reduced several Places with great Rapidity; particularly *Feathard*, *Calan*, *Keltennon*, *Arsennon*, *Coker*, *Dundrum*, and *Gowram*; at which last Place, he ordered Governor *Hammond*, and all the Officers of *Ormond's* Regiment, to be shot, after the Town was surrendered. On the 22d of *March*, he invested *Kilkenny*, which was defended by Sir *Walter Butler*, with a numerous Garrison: But the Governor was obliged to surrender on honourable Terms. *Cromwell* then laid Siege to *Clonmel*, in which was a Garrison of 2000 Foot, and 120 Horse. The Bishop of *Ross* headed 5000 Men to relieve the Town; but was defeated by Lord *Brogbill*, who killed 700, took the Bishop Prisoner, and hanged him before the Walls of one of his own Castles, which immediately surrendered. In the mean time, *Cromwell* vigorously pushed on the Siege of *Clonmell*, which was gallantly defended by *Hugh O'Neal*: But the Place was taken by Storm, and most of the Garrison put to the Sword. While *Cromwell* was conquering in this Part of *Ireland*, *Coot* and *Venables* brought all the North under his Obedience; where they killed in one Engagement

A. D. 3000 of the old *Irish* Rebels headed by the Bishop of 1649. *Clogher*, who was taken Prisoner, and met with the same Fate as the Bishop of *Ross*.

THE *Scotch* were now endeavouring to restore the King, and the *English* Parliament resolved to carry the War into *Scotland*; for which Purpose *Cromwell* was hastily recalled out of *Ireland*. But, before his Departure, he found a Way to send above 40,000 Men out of that Kingdom; by publishing a Proclamation to permit all the *Irish* Officers to enlist what Soldiers they pleased, for the Service of foreign Princes: When the Marquis of *Ormond*, notwithstanding all the Promises, Obligations, and Intreaties of the *Irish* who were with him, could not draw together a Body of 5000 Men. Thus the Affairs of *Ireland* were in such a good Condition when *Cromwell* was recalled, that there was little left to be done by his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, whom he constituted Lord-Deputy, and returned to *England* in *May*; being met by the Lord General *Fairfax*, with many Members of Parliament, and Officers of the Army, on *Hounslow-Heath*, who conducted him to *London* in a triumphant Manner, where the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen congratulated him on his safe Arrival. He had reduced almost all *Ireland* in the Space of nine Months, and spread Devastation wherever he came; for which he received the Thanks of the *English* Parliament; but his Name and Memory will be ever cursed by the Descendants of the *Irish* Papists.

A. D. 1650. THE King could not venture into *Ireland*, and retired into the *Isle of Jersey*, where he had been proclaimed by Sir *George Carteret*, the Governor for this Island; together with those of *Guernsey*, *Man*, and *Scilly*, had not yet submitted to the Parliament. His Majesty had Friends in *Scotland*, who wanted to get him admitted without any Condition: With this View, *Middleton*, *Monroe*, the *Gordons*, and others, assembled some Forces in the North, and seized *Inverness*: But the Parliament sent some Troops against them under *Strahan* and *Ker*, who dispersed the Mutineers before they could collect all their Forces. *Jersey* could not long afford his Majesty

jefty Subsistence: He was unwelcome both to *France* A. D. and *Holland*: He was entirely excluded from *Ireland*; ^{1650.} and began to look with another Eye upon *Scotland*; from whence the Committee of Estates had sent Mr. *George Windham* to *Jersey*, to acquaint the King, they were desirous to treat with him concerning his Establishment in their Kingdom. His Majesty appointed *Breda* for the Reception of the *Scotch* Commissioners, who met him there on the 15th of *March*, and presented the Conditions on which the *Scotch* Parliament and *Kirk* would admit him to the Exercise of the Regal Power. These Conditions consisted of four Articles; whereby they required, “ *That all excommunicated Persons* might be “ removed from having any Access at Court: *That* “ the King would confirm the *National Covenant* of “ *Scotland*; as also the *solemn League and Covenant* “ of *Scotland, England, and Ireland*: *That* he would esta- “ blish the *Presbyterian Government* in all his Dominions, “ and observe the same himself: *And that* he would “ permit all *Civil Matters* to be determined by the “ *Parliament*, and all *Ecclesiastical Matters* by the *Kirk* “ of *Scotland*.” These Conditions seemed very hard and unreasonable to the King, who regarded the Offer of the Crown of *Scotland* no farther than as a Means of restoring him to the Throne of *England*; which was the principal Object of his Attention. He was to renounce his Friends, and his Religion: Though the former had been loyal Adherents to his Father, who died a Martyr for the latter. The King objected to the *Covenant*, as well as to his own Profession of *Presbyterianism*: But the *Scotch* Commissioners had not Power to recede from any Article: and his Majesty, after temporizing in vain, accepted the Conditions; only the signing of the *Covenant* was deferred till his Arrival in *Scotland*, where he was hourly expected; but, as he was obliged to submit to these Conditions, he intended to observe them only as a Matter of Form.

WHILE this Treaty was in Agitation, *James Graham*, Marquis of *Mntrose*, landed with 500 Germans in the North of *Scotland*, and published a Manifesto, declaring. “ *That he was come with a Commission from*

300 A. NEW HISTORY

A. D. " the King to protect his good Subjects ; but with no
3650. " Design to obstruct the Negotiations of *Breda* : And
" that, if the Treaty succeeded, he should readily lay
" down his Arms on the first Command from his Ma-
" jesty." The Parliament of *Scotland* conceived that
the Arrival of *Montrose* was intended to obstruct the
Treaty of *Breda*, and oblige them to desist from those
Conditions that were thought necessary for the Safety of
the Kingdom : Upon which they raised 6000 Men un-
der the Command of *David Leslie*, who detached Co-
lonel *Strabane* before him with 300 Horse, to awe the
Country, and prevent the Highlanders from joining
Montrose. The Marquis received little Assistance ; and,
on the 29th of *April*, was surprized and defeated by
Strabane, who killed 300 of his Men, and took 500
Prisoners. The Marquis escaped in the Disguise of a
Peasant, and put himself into the Hands of *Mackland*,
Laird of *Affin*, who had formerly served under him, and
promised to conceal him ; but treacherously delivered him
to *Leslie*, who immediately sent him Prisoner to *Edin-
burgh*, and *Mackland* received 2000*l.* for his Treachery.
The brave, loyal, but unhappy Marquis, was met by
the common Hangman, and carried through the Streets
with the most brutal Infamy that could be devised. The
Parliament paid no Regard to his Birth, and con-
demned him to be hanged on a Gallows thirty Feet
high ; with this Addition to his Sentence, that, after
he was dead, his Head should be cut off, and set upon
Edinburgh Tolbooth ; his Legs and Arms over the Gates
of *Sterling*, *Glasgow*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen* ; and his
Body buried under the Gallows. The Marquis, when
he received Sentence, told the Parliament, " He e-
" steemed it a greater Honour to have his Head stand
" on the Prison-Gate for his Loyalty to the King, than
" to have his Picture placed in his Bed-Chamber." The
Sentence was executed in all its Rigour, on the 31st of
May : But the Behaviour of the Marquis, under all his
Sufferings, was as great and firm to the last, as the
Fury of the Covenanters against him was inveterate and
universally detested. At his Death, he testified an en-
tire

tire Persuasion of the Justice of the Cause he had supported : Told the People that *Charles* the first died a ^{A. D.} ~~1650.~~ Martyr ; and assured them *Charles* the Second would observe all his Promises to the *Scotch* ; wherein the Marquis was as much mistaken as the Lord *Capel*, who said as much at his Execution.

THE King complained loudly to the *Scotch* Commissioners at *Breda*, of the Execution of this loyal Nobleman : But he was obliged at present to stifle all farther Resentment, and sign the Conditions ; after which, he went to *Scheveling*, near the *Hague*, where he embarked with some faithful Adherents on board some *Dutch* Men of War, furnished by the Prince of *Orange*, and arrived at the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*, on the 16th of *June*. The Council demanded, that the King would sign the *Covenants*, before he set his Foot on the Shore ; to which he was persuaded to consent ; and was then conducted to *Dundee*, where he was attended by one Committee from the Parliament, and by another from the *Kirk*, who were urging his Majesty to sign several Propositions, before they would agree to his Coronation, which was deferred on that Account 'till the Beginning of the next Year.

THE Marquis of *Argyle*, who was at the Head of the *Scotch* Government, received the King with extraordinary Reverence, and outward Marks of Respect : but all his *English* Domestics were removed, except the Duke of *Buckingham* ; and the *Hamiltonian* Party, called *Malcontents*, or *Engagers*, were kept at a great Distance. This gave great Uneasiness to the King, who saw himself in the Hands of Men to whom he was a Stranger, and whose Principles were entirely different from those in which he had been educated. The Ministers pretended, his Promise and Oath to profess Presbyterianism, obliged him to receive their Instructions : They made no Scruple of branding the Hierarchy and Worship of the Church of *England*, with the Name of *Doctrine of Devils* : And the great Rigour the *Kirk* used towards him, contributed not a little to beget in the King an Aversion to all Sorts of Strictness in Religion. The *Scotch* were soon persuaded, the King had sworn against his

A. D. his Conscience ; and *Argyle* quickly fathomed his Mind : **1650.** So that the King was mistrusted, while the Estates were raising an Army for his Assistance against the Parliament of *England*, who were making the necessary Preparations for invading *Scotland*.

THE Lord General *Fairfax* was of Opinion, that to begin a War with *Scotland*, would be contrary to the Covenant : But *Cromwell* alledged it was justifiable, because the Duke of *Hamilton* had invaded *England*, by the Authority of the Scotch Parliament, which was contriving another Invasion in Favour of their King. Lord *Fairfax* would not act against his Conscience, and resigned his Commission, which was conferred on *Cromwell*, and *Fairfax* had a yearly Pension of 5000*l.* settled on him, in Acknowledgment of his Services. The real Intention of this War, was to support the Independents : But a Manifesto was drawn up, whereby the Parliament charged the Scotch with a Design of obliging the *English* to acknowledge King *Charles* the Second, and to impose their Form of Religion upon the *English* Nation. The Committee of Estates in *Scotland*, expostulated upon the Injustice of this Invasion ; and raised an Army with all possible Diligence, under General *Lesley*.

THE Lord General *Cromwell*, on the 20th of *July*, assembled all his Troops on *Haggerston Moor*, four Miles from *Berwick upon Tweed* ; when there appeared a gallant Body of 5000 Horse, and 11000 Foot. He published his Manifesto on the Borders of *Scotland* ; after which he entered that Kingdom, and proceeded without any Interruption to *Dunbar*, where he was supplied with Provisions from the Ships sent thither from *England* for that Purpose.

GENERAL *Lesley* encamped his Army near *Edinburgh*, consisting of 20,000 Men. *Cromwell* advanced towards the *Scotch*, and began a few Skirmishes ; but found them too strong to be attacked, and retired towards *Musselborough* ; where he remained several Weeks, endeavouring to draw the *Scotch* Army out of their Intrenchments, which exhausted his Provisions, and so much diminished

the

the Number of his Men, that he was obliged to return A. D. to *Dunbar*. The *Scotch* General followed *Cromwell* with 1650. one of the best Armies that *Scotland* had ever brought together, and posted his Troops on a Hill, about a Mile from *Dunbar*, where there was no attacking them. *Cromwell* was then in great Distress, and looked on himself as undone. The least Evil, says *Burnet*, seemed to be to kill his Horses, and sail back to *Newcastle*, which, in the Disposition that *England* was in at that Time, would have been all their Destruction; for it would have occasioned an universal Insurrection for the King. But *Rapin* says, *Cromwell* designed to embark his Foot only, and return into *England* with his Horse. *Cromwell* called his Officers to a Day of *Seeking the Lord*, in their Style; when he said, that he felt such an Enlargement of Heart in Prayer, that he doubted not but God would give him the Victory; which inspired his Soldiers with Courage, who were all of them Fanatics. General *Lesley* was not for attacking the *English*, but only for watching an Opportunity to engage them with Advantage; in which he was frustrated by the Clamours of the Ministry who were in his Army, and promised a certain Victory against the *English* Sectaries. On the 2d of *September*, the *Scotch* Army, which was now augmented to 27000 Men, descended the Hill; and *Cromwell* resolved to attack them early the next Morning, with his whole Force, which was now reduced to 12000 Men: For it was his constant Maxim, not to expect, but attack the Enemy, without any Regard to Number; being persuaded the Assailants have always a great Advantage.

CROMWELL drew up his Army in the Night, and fell upon the *Scotch* an Hour before Day, on the 3d. The *Scotch* Cavalry on the right Wing behaved well at first, but were soon put to Flight; and the left Wing fled without charging once. Three Regiments of *Scotch* Infantry fought with such Bravery, that they were almost all slain on the Spot; and the rest fled in Confusion, when they found themselves deserted by the Horse; leaving the Field, and an undoubted Victory to the *English*. Thus *Cromwell* obtained the important Battle of *Dunbar*,

A. D. in less than an Hour. The Scotch had 4000 killed, and
1650. 10,000 taken Prisoners; with the Loss of all their Artillery and Baggage: Lord Libberton, and Lord Grandison, were among the Scotch Prisoners; the former of whom soon afterwards died of his Wounds: But Cromwell lost only 300 Men, and sent 200 Colours to London, which were hung up as Trophies in Westminster Hall.

THE Scotch, after their Defeat, abandoned Leith and Edinburgh, of which Cromwell took Possession; and the Castle, that might have made a much longer Resistance, surrendered on the 24th of December; whereby all the southern Part of Scotland came under Contribution to Cromwell. Stirling was the advanced Garrison on the King's Side, and was the Place of Retreat for the scattered Troops from Dunbar: But the King retired to St. Johnston's, where a Parliament was called, and another Army was agreed to be raised.

WHILE Cromwell was reducing Scotland, the Parliament of England ordered the Statue of the late King, in the Royal Exchange, to be defaced; his Arms to be erased in all public Places, and those of the Commonwealth to be set up in the Courts of Judicature. The News of the Victory of Dunbar was the more joyfully received, as it was quite unexpected, by the Independent Faction at Westminster, who ordered most of the Scotch Prisoners to be marketed for as common Slaves, for the English Plantations in America. The dangerous Situation of Cromwell, not a great while before, encouraged the Royalists all over England, to make some desperate Attempts for the Service of the King; which were too impotently conducted, and ended in the Ruin of the principal Actors, Colonel Eusebius Andrews, a Gentleman of great Spirit and Knowledge, was condemned to die by the High Court of Justice, for receiving a Commission from the King, which was termed a Crime of High-Treason, by the Judges of this new Slaughter-house; and the Colonel, on the 22d of August, was beheaded on Tower-Hill, where he suffered with great Magnanimity. Doctor Levintz, a Civilian, was executed in Cornhill, for distributing the Royal Commissions.

Commissions. Sir *John Stoerel* was also tried ; but the A. D. Court would not venture to condemn him, though he was ^{1645.} hated by the Faction. Sir *John Gell* had his Estate confiscated, and himself condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, for plotting with the Royalists, though he was a capital Presbyterian. Mutinies were raised in many Places ; and a dangerous Insurrection happened against the Parliament in *Norfolk* : Upon which Account another High Court of Justice was erected for the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntingdon*, *Cambridge*, *Lincoln*, and the Isle of *Ely* ; because the Parliament could seldom find a Jury who would convict the Insurgents ; and Twenty of the *Norfolk* People were executed.

ONE *Aicham*, an Agent from the *English* Parliament, was murdered at *Madrid*, by some *English* Royalists in the *Spanish* Army, in the same Manner as *Dorislaus* had been assassinated at the *Hague* : Which was highly resented by the Commonwealth, as the Faction were resolved to support their Authority with foreign Powers, as an Independent State ; and for this they had a recent Example in the *Dutch*. The Council of State then certified to the Parliament, that it would be prudent to send the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, abroad : But the Princess died in her Confinement, at *Carisbrook Castle* ; and the Duke was two Years afterwards sent to *Holland*.

AN ACT of Parliament passed, for the Sale of all the Estates belonging to the Royal Family, which contained vast Quantities of Timber ; and the Parliament availed themselves of that Circumstance to increase the Navy of *England*, in a few Months, to treble the Strength it ever had been known before. The *English* Fleet was commanded by *Popham*, *Blake*, and *Dean* ; the two former of whom were sent with a strong Squadron to *Lisbon*, " to demand that Prince *Rupert* and his Fleet should be given up ; as being no better than Rebels or Pyrates ; and therefore not entitled to Protection, or Neutrality. " They were also ordered to compel the Ships of all other Nations to strike their Flags to the English Admirals. The King of *Portugal* continued his Protection to Prince *Rupert*, 'till the *Brazil* Fleet was destroyed

A.D. stroyed by *Blake*: And, while the *English* were in Pursuit of the *Portuguese*, Prince *Rupert* took the Opportunity of escaping from *Lisbon*, and retired to *Carthagena* in *Spain*.

A. D. 1651. THE Members of the *English* Commonwealth acted with great Economy in their public Affairs; and almost every Member had a particular Department as best suited his Practice or Genius. It was voted, that 20 Ships, and 3000 Seamen, should continue on the Coast of *Portugal*; and that 40 lesser Ships, with 4200 Sailors, should be stationed on the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; the Pay and Provision of which forty Ships, for Six Months, amounted to 115,294*l. 6s. 8d.* Besides this Force, a Squadron of Seven Ships was raised, for reducing the Islands of *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, and *Bermudas*; with *Virginia*, and some other Places in *America*, which Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, had brought to declare for the King, and governed under his Commission.

ALL Europe beheld the growing Power of the *English* Commonwealth, with equal Terror and Indignation: For all Princes looked with Abhorrence on the Death of *Charles* the First, which they confidered as one general Blow aimed at Royalty, and the Language of all foreign Courts, ran in Detestation of the *English* Regicides: But few of them gave Assistance to *Charles* the Second. The grand Duke of *Muscovy*, indeed, sent him a considerable Sum of Money: The King of *Denmark* had more Inclination than Ability to serve him: But *France* and *Spain* neither desired nor endeavoured his Restoration; while the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Prince of *Orange*, and some *German* Princes, threw their Mites into his Treasury. In the mean Time, the *English* Parliament came to a Resolution, to give all ordinary and extraordinary Audiences in the House of Commons; and all Ministers of inferior Characters, Audience in the House of Lords, by a Committee. The King of *Portugal* even sent them an Ambassador, to treat with them as an Independent State; and they resolved to keep up their Dignity to its full Extent. From a noble Sense of the Contempt which the *Portuguese* Court had shewn to the naval Power of *England*, they ordered a fine Set of Tapestry to be

be brought from the Royal Wardrobe, expressing the A. D. Defeat of the *Spanish Armada*, in 1588 ; and with these ^{1651.} Hangings the Walls of the House were decorated on the Day that the *Portuguese* Minister had his Audience ; where they still remain, as the faded, but awful Memorials of *English* Glory.

SOME good Laws, as well as bad, were enacted by the Republicans ; many of whom consulted how to raise the Power and Glory of their Country ; by studying and cultivating the *Anti-norman* Constitution. Many of the *French* and *Latin* Terms in Law were abrogated ; while great Talk was held of composing a new System of Laws upon the Footing of the ancient *Saxon* Constitution, free from the *Norman* and *French* Engraftments, which were inconsistent with the new intended Model. They knew that the Interests of *England* and *France* were incompatible : They retained a fixed Hatred to every Part of the *French* Policy ; and were conscious that Cardinal *Mazarine* dreaded to see *England* a flourishing State. The *French* had committed some Depredations on the *English*, which were returned with so much Spirit, that it was universally imagined a War would be unavoidable : But this was inconsistent with the Views of *Cromwell*, who had his Eye principally bent upon obtaining some Acquisitions in the *Spanish West Indies*, when he had composed the Troubles in *England*.

AFTER the Defeat at *Dunbar*, a new Army was raising in *Scotland* to oppose *Cromwell*, and the *Hamiltonian* Party were called in to serve the King, who was now to head those Forces ; though the rigid Covenanters were afraid of trusting him before. However, they compelled him to sign a Declaration, very prejudicial to the Memory of his Father, and derogatory to his own Honour. This Declaration was not attended with those Advantages which the King expected, and he was prevailed on by the Marquis of *Huntley*, and some others, to escape from *St. Johnston*, into the Highlands ; where they promised to meet him with a considerable Body of Troops : but they were unable to perform their Promises, and the King returned to his former Residence, on an Invitation

A. D. 1651. **vitation** from the Committee of Estates. The King was crowned at *Scone*, on the first of *January*, when he received the Covenant ; and, from that Day, all Persons had Access to him, without Distinction of Party. The *Scotch* Army was ready the beginning of *June*, before *Cromwell* could take the Field, for want of Forage. The King set up his Royal Standard at *Aberdeen* ; from whence he marched to *Stirling*, and mustered his Army, which consisted of 15000 Foot, and 3000 Horse, commanded by himself in Person, who appointed the Duke of *Hamilton*, Brother to the late Duke, his Lieutenant General ; and *David Leslie*, Major General ; *Middleton*, Lieutenant General of the Horse ; and *Massey*, Major General of the *English*.

THE Parliament of *England* took Care to supply *Cromwell* with Men, Money, and Provisions, early enough to open the Campaign, on the 24th of *June*. He marched against the King, whom he could not bring to an Engagement ; but took several little Forts, and then sent General *Lambert* to invade the County of *Fife*, where he defeated 4000 Men, commanded by Major General *Brown*, who had 2000 of his Men killed upon the Spot, and himself taken Prisoner, with most of his Officers, and 1200 Men. By this Means, *Cromwell* deprived the King of any further Supplies from that Country, and reduced every Place he came near ; which obliged the King to think of marching into *England* ; though this Project was opposed by the Marquis of *Argyle* ; and, by a Letter wrote from the Duke of *Hamilton*, to his Niece, it appears to have been a desperate Step : Yet Lord *Clarendon* represents it as a Matter of Election, rather than Necessity.

THE King received no Interruption from *Cromwell*, and, on the 6th of *August*, entered *England*, at the Head of 18000 Men, who immediately proclaimed him King. *Cromwell* foresaw, and foretold the Fate of this March ; though *Rapin* says he never expected it ; as the avoiding this Invasion was the sole Aim of the Parliament in carrying the War into *Scotland*. He left Major General *Monk* in *Scotland*, with 6000 Men ; and then followed

the

the King, with the rest of his Army, into *England*, who A. D. he imagined would march to *London* with all possible 1651. Expedition.

THE King entered *England*, full of Hopes that all the Enemies of the Independence, as well Presbyterians as Royalists, would eagerly join him: But he found himself disappointed as he marched through *Lancashire*, where he expected most Friends. He was joined by *James Stanley*, Earl of *Derby*, who raised 1500 Horse in *Lancashire*; which where met and defeated, near *Wigan*, by Colonel *Lillburn*, at the Head of ten Troops of Horse, who killed most of the Royalists, among whom were the brave Lord *Widdrington*, and Sir *Thomas Tidesley*. This Defeat of the Earl of *Derby* intimidated the Royalists in those Parts, and induced the King to proceed to *Worcester*, where he arrived on the 23d of *August*, when he was honourably received, and solemnly proclaimed by the Magistrates. His Army was so much diminished by Defection, and there were such little Hopes of its being augmented, that the King was obliged to intrench himself at *Worcester*, and expect the Approach of his Enemy.

CROMWELL, in his March, was joined by *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough*, with such additional Forces, that his Army amounted to 30,000 Men, and soon came in the Neighbourhood of *Worcester*, where the King was surrounded by them on the 1st of *September*. The noble, unhappy *Fairfax* himself, took a Commission to fight under *Cromwell*, to make his Words good, that he would fight against the *Scotch* if they entered *England*. *Cromwell* drove the *Scotch* from their Intrenchments in several Skirmishes; and, on the 3d of *September*, the Engagement became general. The *Scotch* Foot behaved with great Bravery, and the King led them on in Person, with an Intrepidity that amazed *Cromwell* himself: But *Lesley* remained in *Worcester* with the *Scotch* Horse, as if he had been an unconcerned Spectator in the Battle; and the King was betrayed either by the Cowardice or Treachery of this Officer. His Majesty had two Horses shot under him; and the Duke of *Hamilton* was mortally

A. D. ly wounded : But the Scotch paid no Regard to the *Eng-
lish* Officers. *Cromwell* rushed on with the irresistible
1651. Tide of Victory, and drove before him the surviving
Troops to the Gates of *Worcester*, which they entered,
and were followed by the exulting Conquerors. The King
could not prevail upon the *Scotch* Horse to make one
Effort to retrieve the Day, and was obliged to seek for
Security in Escape, which he happily effected in the
Dusk of the Evening, with about 60 Horse, by St.
Martin's Gate ; being attended by the Duke of *Buck-
ingham* ; the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Cleveland*, and *Derby* ;
with some other *English* and *Scotch* Noblemen. The
Scotch Cavalry fled without striking a Blow, and left
their Infantry to be massacred : But were pursued,
and most of them killed or taken Prisoners : So that the
King had 2000 Men killed, and 8000 made Prisoners.
But *Cromwell* had only 100 killed, and 300 wounded ;
whereby he obtained the Battle of *Worcester*, the same
Day Twelvemonth that he defeated the *Scotch* at *Dun-
bar* ; and his Word was the same at both Places, *The
Lord of Hosts*. The Duke of *Hamilton* died soon after of
his Wounds. The Earls of *Derby*, *Cleveland*, *Rothes*,
Lauderdale, *Ruthen*, *Carnwath*, and *Kelly* ; with Lord
Spynie, and many other Persons of Distinction, were
among the Prisoners ; several of whom were afterwards
put to Death ; while the common Soldiers, like those
taken at *Dunbar*, were sold as Slaves for the *American*
Plantations.

THE Loss at the Battle of *Worcester*, was more fatal
than that at *Naseby* ; as it proved the Decision of the
grand Contest between the King and the Common-
wealth. His Majesty was under the greatest Perplexity
after he had escaped from the Defeat ; for he found
himself in the Middle of *England*, surrounded by his
Enemies, who were also in Possession of *Scotland*, which
obliged him to think of making his Escape abroad.
He fled the first Night to *Kidderminster*, and was advised
by the Earl of *Derby*, to take Protection in the House
of *William Penderel*, at *Boscobel*, on the Confines of *Staf-
fordshire*, in the Road between *Wolverhampton* and *New-
port*.

port. The Lords, and others in his Train, left the A. D. King, that he might be more safely concealed without 1651. Attendants; and they joined *Lesley*, with whom most of them were taken Prisoners. His Majesty put himself under the Care of a trusty Guide; being disguised like a Peasant, and conducted to the House of the loyal *Penderel*, where he was most dutifully received, and faithfully served, by five Brothers of that Name. The Enemy had such good Intelligence, that a Party of them were seen by the King almost as soon as he arrived; which made him attempt to pass into *Wales*, under the Guide of his honest Conductors, who found the Design too dangerous, and were obliged to bring his Majesty back again to their own Habitation, where they lodged him in a Garret, by taking up some of the Flooring, and making a Place just large enough to hold a little Bed, which is still to be seen at the Farm-House. The King was soon joined by Colonel *Careless*, who facilitated his Escape from *Worcester*, by keeping the pursuing Parties in Play, with a few Soldiers he had picked up on the Road: But, as the Village was filled with Soldiers, the King and Colonel concealed themselves in the Day Time in a thick Wood close to the House, where they frequently sat in a large Oak Tree, and saw some of their Pursuers, who were so near that the King could hear they were speaking about him, and wishing he might fall into their Hands, because a Reward of 1000*l.* was offered for discovering him, by *Cromwell*; and, though Death was the Punishment for concealing him, his Majesty was so faithfully served, that he at last effected his Escape.

THIS Oak Tree was afterwards called *The Royal Oak*; and, in Commemoration of it's Service to the King, it is customary all over *England* on every 29th of *May*, being the Anniversary of his Birth and Restoration, to deck the Doors and Windows of Churches and Houses with Oaken Boughs. *The Royal Oak* at *Boscobel*, was inclosed by a large brick Wall, and a Stone placed over the Door of Entrance, with an Inscription alluding to the Concealment and Escape of the King: But the Tree, which is now standing there, is not the real Tree where he secreted himself; for that has been long decayed, by little

A. D. little Pieces frequently cut from it, by Persons devoted
 to the *Stewart Family*, to be kept as Relics of their
 Zeal; and the Tree which is now standing, was pro-
 duced by one of the Acorns from the old Tree.

WHILE the King was in this Danger at *Boscobel*, he received some diverting Amusements; and his Case seemed to be very similar to that of the Royal *Alfred*, * while he was secreting himself from the *Danes* at *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*. The King in a few Days was joined by Lord *Wilmot*, who persuaded him to remove from *Boscobel* to the House of Mr. *Whitegrave*, where he was conducted by the five *Penderels*, and from thence to the House of Colonel *Lane*, where the best Means were taken for favouring his Escape out of the Kingdom, and it was resolved to make Use of a Pass that Mrs. *Jane Lane*, the Colonel's Sister, had obtained for herself and a Servant to go to *Bristol*. Accordingly, the King was equipped as a Serving Man, and mounted on the same Horse before the Lady; another Gentleman and his Wife being in Company, and the Lord *Wilmot* attending him at a Distance, as a Footman, with a Hawk on his Fist, in which Manner they travelled 'till they came to a Gentleman's House within three Miles of *Bristol*. The King then removed to Colonel *Wyndham*'s House at *Trent*, and vainly attempted to procure a Passage from *Charmouth* to *France*; which obliged him to go to *Hele*, near *Salisbury*; from whence he came to *Brightelmstone*, in *Sussex*; and, on the 15th of *October*, went on Board a small Bark at *Shoreham*, which landed him near *Havre de Grace*, in *Normandy*. His Majesty resided in *France* 'till the Year 1655, when he withdrew into *Germany*, and continued in that Country, the *Netherlands*, or the *United Provinces*, 'till his Restoration in 1660.

WHILE the King was in such dangerous Circumstances, many of his unhappy Adherents were put to Death. The loyal Earl of *Derby* was carried to *Chester*, where he was condemned by a Council of War, on the 29th of *September*, to be beheaded at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*; which Sentence was executed the very Day the King escaped out of the Kingdom. He was Lord of *Man*, and the *Isles*; and was married

to

* See Vol. I. Page 120.

to Charlotte, the Daughter of *Claude, Duke de la Tremouille* in France ; by whom he had a Son, who was so ill ^{1651.} rewarded for the Loyalty of his Father, that *Charles the Second* refused a Bill passed unanimously by both Houses of Parliament, for restoring to the Family the Estate lost by his Loyalty to him ; as appears by an Inscription, fixed by the Earl of *Derby* in 1732, on a Building erected at *Knowsley*, his Seat in *Lancashire*. But that Bill was not passed unanimously ; for 25 Lords entered their Protest against it, because it appeared to them, that the Earl had sold those Estates, which were the Manors of *Hopessdale* and *Molesdale* in *Flintshire*, to real Purchasers. Sir *Timothy Featherstonehaugh*, and others, were also executed ; but the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the Lords *Livingston* and *Talbot*, escaped into *France*.

THE Joy of the Parliament occasioned by their Success at *Worcester*, was compleated by the News they received from *Scotland*, where General *Monk* took the strong Castle of *Sterling*, with 5000 Stand of Arms, and a rich Booty, among which were the Regalia of *Scotland*, and the public Records : But the last were sent to *England*, from whence they never returned ; as the Ship in which they were sent back, after the Restoration, was lost at Sea. The Earls of *Leven*, *Marshall*, and *Crauford*, with several other Noblemen and Gentlemen, were surprized, and taken Prisoners : After which, *Monk* stormed *Dundee*, and put the Governor, with all his Garrison, to the Sword. The principal Inhabitants of *Edinburgh* had conveyed their Riches into this Place after the Battle of *Dunbar* ; and some of the private *English* Soldiers had 500*l.* a Man, as their Share of the Plunder : Fifty Sail of Ships were taken in the Harbour, and forty great Guns in the Town. The taking of *Sterling* and *Dundee* were followed by the Loss of *Aberdeen*, *St. Andrews*, and all the rest of the Towns and Castles, capable of making Resistance : So that the *English* extended their Conquests through all Parts of the Kingdom, even as far as the Isles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which now submitted to them. The *English* Parliament then thought of uniting *Scotland* to the Commonwealth of *England*, and passed an Act for that Purpose, with a

A. D. Power to send a limited Number of Representatives to
1651. the Parliament. The Scotch Nobility submitted to this Union ; with which their Clergy were greatly dissatisfied. The Parliament's Fleet also took Possession of the Isles of *Man*, *Jersey*, and *Guernsey* ; though *Elizabeth Castle* in *Jersey* was bravely defended against Admiral *Blake*, and Colonel *Hales*, by the gallant Sir *George Carteret* ; and the Isle of *Man* was for some Time as bravely defended by the Countess of *Derby*. This Loss was soon followed by the Reduction of the Islands of *Barbadoes*, *St. Christopher's*, and *Nevis*, in the *West Indies* ; together with *Virginia*, and the other Colonies, on the Continent of *North-America*.

CROMWELL levelled the Walls of *Worcester*, and returned to *London* on the 21st of *September*, in a triumphant Manner, driving four or five Thousand Prisoners like Sheep before him ; and being met at *Acton* by a Majority of the Parliament, with the Speaker at their Head, attended by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*. His Glory and Credit were so much increased, that he was the Head of the Commonwealth, while he had only the Title of General. He aspired to the Crown, and wanted to pave his Way to it by dissolving the Parliament : For which Purpose he had a Meeting with the Speaker ; the Generals *Harrison*, *Fleetwood*, and *Desborough* ; Chief Justice *St. John*, Sir *Thomas Withrington*, and Colonel *Whaley* : some of whom were for Monarchy, and others for a Republick : But the Conference came to nothing, as it did not take the Turn which *Cromwell* expected.

THE King lived at *Paris*, maintained by his Mother, who had a Pension from the Crown ; but Cardinal *Mazarine* made his Court to *Cromwell*, and took no Notice of the Distress of the unfortunate Prince. Every State in *Europe* either courted the Friendship, or dreaded the Arms of the *English Republic* ; which was considered by the *Dutch* as too powerful a Rival of their Trade ; and the quick Advances of its naval Power, as a melancholy Presage to *Holland*. *England* was not less powerful than under Queen *Elizabeth*, or than it might have been under *James I.* and *Charles I.* had those Princes thought proper to engage in foreign Wars : Which appears strange, when

we reflect on the great Sums that were expended, and A. D.
the Blood that was shed during the Civil Commotions. 1651.
But it should be confidered, that *England* had no Wars
since the Death of *Elizabeth*, and swarmed with People
in the Year 1642: As also, that the Money was not
carried out of the Kingdom; for the only Alteration was,
that the Rich had become Poor, and the Poor become
Rich; which had not funk the Capital of the Nation.
Nothing, therefore, was altered but the Government,
and that was in the Hands of the most able Men *England*
had a long while produced; though their Usurpation
was the most unjust. The *Independents* had beheaded
one King, banished another, and turned the Monarchy
into a Commonwealth; they had abolished the House
of Lords, quelled the Levellers, humbled the Presby-
terians, destroyed the Royalists, subdued *Scotland*, and al-
most finished the Conquest of *Ireland*. The Trade of the
Nation was greatly increased, and its Navy rendered so
very formidable, that the Parliament dreaded neither
France nor *Spain*, in any Attempt for the Restoration of
the King: But they apprehended great Danger from
the Republic of the *United Provinces*; which made it no
less important to prevent any Assistance to the King from
Holland, than it had been to hinder the *Scotch* from assist-
ing the Presbyterians.

For this Purpose, the Parliament, in 1649, sent *Dori-
staus* to *Holland*, to propose a strict Union between the
two Republics; but he was assassinated at the *Hague*:
And, as the Prince of *Orange* died in *October* 1650, the
Parliament judged the Occasion favourable to treat with
the States, because the Interest of that Prince could no-
longer obstruct the Negotiation. Accordingly, in *March*
1651, *Oliver St. John*, and *Walter Strickland*, were sent
to the *Hague*, to negociate such an Union, as might
render the two States one Commonwealth: But this Pro-
posal met with great Opposition by the States, and the
English Envoys returned in *July*, confirmed in the Sus-
picion that the *Dutch* intended to assist the King. The
Parliament stifled their Resentment till after the Battle
of *Worcester*, when they were as much enabled as they
were resolved to undertake a War against the *Dutch*,

A. D. whom they considered as dangerous to them, as the 1651. *Carthaginians* were to the *Romans*; and this brought on a War between these two modern Republics, which was as bloody as the great Contention between the two ancient ones; who, like these, were opposite Neighbours. But, as the People of *England* were not to be easily persuaded of the Necessity of this War, it was resolv'd to force the *Dutch* to be the Aggressors.

THE *English* had made some strong Demands upon the *Dutch*: They insisted upon the *exclusive Right* which the Subjects of *Great Britain* had to the *Herring Fishery*; and not only demanded a *Tenth Herring*, as an *Acknowledgment*, from the *Dutch*, but ordered the *English* Admirals to insist upon the *Dutch* striking their *Flags* to them. Among the many Articles whereby the *English* gave Umbrage to the *Dutch*, the Principal was the *Act of Navigation*, which was one of the best that ever passed an *English* Parliament; for, by this *Act*, the Importation of all foreign Commodities were prohibited, except upon *English* Bottoms, or such as were of the Country from whence the Commodities came. The *Act* was to commence the 1st of *December*, whereby all Commerce between *England* and *Holland* was destroyed; as that Commerce consisted only in foreign Merchandizes imported from *Holland* in their own Vessels. But all Historians have been mistaken in giving the Honour of this *Act* to *Cromwell*; for it was first hinted by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in his Discourse of Shipping, who said, " that " it is exceeding lamentable that for any Respect in the " World, seeing the Restoration of the State and Mo- " narch doth surmount all other Respects, Strangers " should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and " importing both our own Commodities and those of " foreign Nations: For it is no Wonder if we are over- " topped in all the Trades we have abroad and far off, " seeing we have the Grass cut under our Feet in our " own Fields and Pastures at Home." *James* the First suffered the *Dutch* to insult him, and was afraid to pursue the Advice of *Raleigh*. *Charles* the First, in 1636, fitted out the strongest Fleet *England* had ever seen of her own, and obliged the *Dutch* to pay him a Tribute for

for fishing on the *British* Coasts : But he also neglected the Scheme of *Raleigh*, for confining the Navigation and ^{1651.} Commerce of *England* within itself ; which was left to throw an Honour upon *Cromwell* ; for the same Act of Navigation was continued by *Charles* the Second, and is now esteemed as the sacred Barrier of the *British* Commerce. The Parliament also granted Letters of Marque to several private Persons, who complained of an unjust Confiscation of their Ships in *Holland*. The *Dutch* States readily perceived the Design of the *English* Parliament, and sent four Ambassadors to *London*, to solicit a Revocation of the Act : But, instead of revoking that new Palladium of their Trade, the *English* revived several stale Pretensions. Satisfaction was demanded for the Massacre of the *English* at *Amboyna*, in 1622 ; as also for the Losses sustained from the *Dutch* since 1618 in *Perfia*, the *East-Indies*, *Russia*, and *Greenland*, which Losses were estimated to amount to 1,700,000*l.* Sterling. A suitable Reparation was also insisted upon, for the Murder of *Dorilaus*, at the *Hague* : A free Trade was demanded up the *Schield* ; and it was pretended, that Satisfaction should be given for the secret Intelligence which the last Ambassadors from the States had held with the late King, during the Civil War ; and also for the Insults which the *English* Ambassadors had received from the *Dutch* Populace.

THE *Dutch* were convinced that the *English* were resolved upon a War, and put to Sea a Fleet of 150 Sail ; ^{1652.} while the *English* were equally assiduous in fitting out their Navy ; and a Rupture soon ensued, which occasioned such terrible Sea Fights, that no preceding Age had ever seen the like. The first Act of Hostility happened in December last Year, when an *English* Man of War met with some *Dutch* Fishermen on the *British* Coast, and demanded the Tenth Herring, in Acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of the Seas, which the Parliament was determined to maintain in another Manner than had hitherto been done. The *Dutch* refused to comply, and the *English* Man of War sunk one of the *Dutch* Ships, with all it's Crew. This Hostility was followed by Re-

A. D. 1652. prizals on the Part of the *Dutch*, who laid an Embargo on all *English* Ships in their Ports, and imagined they should find no Rival upon the Seas : But Admiral *Blake* was soon in a Condition to teach them the Respect due to the *English* Flag.

BEFORE the Scene is opened, which exhibits the naval War between the *English* and *Dutch*, it may be necessary to shew the State of maritime Power among the Ancients ; with some Remarks on the naval Strength of *England* and *Holland*.

THE naval Engagement in the Streights of *Salamis*, between *Themistocles* the Athenian Admiral, and the Persian Admiral who commanded the Fleet of *Xerxes*, when he invaded *Greece* with 3000 Ships, and 2208 Galleys, was remarkable among the *Grecians*, as *Themistocles* obtained a remarkable Victory. *Aristides*, *Cimon*, and other Commanders, distinguished themselves against the *Perians*, and obliged them to make an honourable Peace : After which, the *Greeks* fell out among themselves, and commenced the *Peloponnesian War*. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* were the principal Disputants at Sea ; who soon conciliated their Differences, and endangered all the rest of *Greece*. But they renewed their Variance with *Alcibiades* and *Lysander*, till the *Lacedæmonians* reduced the *Athenians*, and ended the *Peloponnesian Wars*, which had continued twenty-seven Years. *Thebes*, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, then became the Rival of *Sparta* ; and *Athens* fell under the Government of thirty Tyrants : But *Conon* restored the *Athenian Navy*, and defeated the *Spartan Fleet* at *Cnidus* ; while the *Thebans* gained the Battle of *Leuctra*, and entirely ruined the *Spartans* ; as the Battle of *Mantinea* soon afterwards ruined the *Thebans*, and rendered every State of *Greece* independent, till all were reduced by *Philip* and *Alexander*. Such were the naval Engagements among the *Greeks* : But had *Carthage* stood above 600 Years when she contended with *Rome*, and was invincible while she commanded at Sea. The *Romans* began the first *Punic War* in the unjust Defence of the *Martines* in *Sicily*, and the Dominion of that Island became

came the Prize for which the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* ^{A. D.} Republics contended. The *Romans* knew nothing of maritime Affairs, and soon found the Necessity of raising a Fleet; with which they had several slight Engagements against the *Carthaginians*, and became equally expert in Navigation. At last, *Rome* assembled a Fleet of 330 Ships, and *Carthage* another of 350, to try for the Sovereignty of the Sea: They met, and the *Romans* were victorious; but they were conquered by Land, and yet were the same Year successful in another naval Engagement. However, the *Roman* Navy suffered so much by Shipwreck, that 406 Ships and Galleys were destroyed, and they were once more obliged to confine themselves to Land: But they quickly found how impossible it is for Land Forces to defend any maritime Country against a powerful naval Force. A new Fleet of 200 Sail was raised by the *Romans*, which was destroyed by the Enemy, and by Storms; whereby *Rome* was again obliged to renounce the Sea; where she soon again appeared with a powerful Fleet, built at the Ex pense of the private Citizens, and commanded by the Consul *Catulus*, who gave a fatal Blow to the *Carthaginian* Fleet under *Hanno*, and obliged the *Carthaginians* to sue for Peace, whereby they were divested of *Sicily*, and obliged to pay 3200 talents. *Rome* also got Possession of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*; which endangered the very Being of *Carthage*, and invited her to recover her Strength, with a View of retaking what she had lost. The Peace subsisted only twenty-three Years, when *Hannibal* began the second *Punic* War by the Siege of *Saguntum*, and carried his Army into *Italy*, to prevent the *Romans* from besieging *Carthage*. *Hannibal* was victorious by Land, particularly at *Ticinum* and *Tbraismene*; which obliged the *Romans* to choose *Fabius Maximus* their Dictator, who saved *Minucius*: But *Hannibal* won the famous Battle of *Cannæ* from the two Consuls *Paulus* and *Varro*; which threatened the Extinction of *Rome*, and its Preservation was owing to the Imprudence of *Hannibal*, whose Brother *Asdrubal* had defeated the two *Scipio*'s in *Spain*. Young *Publius Corn.*

A. D. Scipio was then elected General to serve in *Spain*, where 1652. he defeated *Asdrubal*, and afterwards invaded *Africa*.

Carthage now trembled for her own Security, and *Scipio* obtained two Victories, which obliged the *Carthaginians* to recal *Hannibal* from *Italy*: But in vain; this great General was conquered by *Scipio*, and this Victory crowned *Rome* the Mistress of the World. The *Romans* were for destroying *Carthage*; but *Scipio* granted them a Treaty of Peace; though he obliged them to give up above 500 Vessels, which he caused to be burnt within Sight of the City, and entirely destroyed the naval Power of that Republic. Beside, the *Romans*, upon some frivolous Pretences, broke the Peace with *Carthage*, demolished their capital City, and reduced their Territories to the Form of a Province.

THE Wars between the *Dutch* and *English* Republics were like the *Punic Wars*; which makes it proper for the Reader to have some Knowledge of what happened between *Rome* and *Carthage*, as the Fate of Empire may be decided by the same Measures and Actions as have past in former Ages among potent States, who have now nothing left but their Names. The Establishment of the *Roman Empire*, according to *Polybius*, was the most wonderful Work of divine Providence: But it was 603 Years from the Building of *Rome* to the Destruction of *Carthage*, which invested the former with the Dominion of the Sea, after it had been held 700 Years by the latter. *Rome* was founded 704 Years before the Birth of *Christ*, and became a Republic 218 Years after its Foundation: But Sir *Walter Raleigh*, after exhibiting the *Roman Commonwealth* in its highest Pitch of Glory, observes, "That, after some Time, Ambition shall tear her Branches, her Leaves shall fall, her Limbs wither, and a Rabble of barbarous Nations shall cut her down." This great Statesman also remarks, "That since the Fall of the *Roman Empire* *, omitting the *German*, which is neither great, nor of long Continuance, there hath been no State formidable in the East, but the *Turk*; nor in the West, except

* See *Vol. I.* p. 43.

“ *cept the Spaniard.*” He says, the *Turk* was counter-
poised by the *Perſian*: And advises the *Engliſh*, *French*, 1652.
and *Dutch* to reduce the *Spaniards* within proper Bounds.
But Things are quite altered at present, and *Russia* is
more formidable to the *Turk* than *Perſia*: While *Spain*
is enjoyed by another Family, and stript of all her for-
mer Power. Such Remarks are proper to introduce
the grand Wars between the Republics of *England* and
Holland; as they will serve to point out how naval
Power is to be acquired, and that Trade will constantly
fly to it for Protection, which will always give the
Riches of the World to the strongest maritime Na-
tion.

ENGLAND may be considered as a naval Power
soon after the first Arrival of the *Saxons*: But the *Danes*,
having better Ships, invaded them, and made their
Way for a new Conquest. The *Normans* grew better
Shipwrights than either, and made the last Conquest of
England, which can never be conquered again, whilst
Britons can keep the Dominion of the Seas. The *Engliſh*, before the Time of *Henry the Eighth*, fought
sometimes with good, and sometimes with ill Succeſs:
But, in his Reign, the Dominion of the Seas became
absolute; and was afterwards gloriously supported by
Queen *Elizabeth*.

THE *Dutch* Republic was formed in the Year 1579,
confiſting of the ſeven *United Provinces*, which formerly
belonged to the House of *Burgundy*, and afterwards
came to the House of *Austria*. Their Religion was
Presbyterianism, and their Government democratical,
with a *Statholder* at their Head, who was formerly in-
vested with great Power. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his
Discourse of Shipping, attributes the Strength of the
Dutch to the five following Reasons: *First*, The Favour
and Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*: For
certainly they had withered in the Bud, and funk in
the Beginning of their Navigation, had *Her Majesty*
aſſisted them. *Second*, The employing ~~of~~ their own
People in their Trades and Fishing; and the Enter-
tainment of Strangers to ſerve them in Armies by

A. D. Land. *Third*, The Fidelity of the House of *Nassau*.
1652. *Fourth*, The withdrawing of the Duke of *Parma* twice into *France*. And, *Fifth*, The embargoing and confiscating of their Ships in *Spain*: Which constrained them, and gave them Courage to trade by Force into the *East* and *West Indies*, as also in *Africa*, in which they employed 180 Ships, and 8700 Mariners. Sir *Walter* also says, “ But be their Estate what it will; let them “ not deceive themselves in believing that they can “ make themselves Masters of the Sea: For the Ship- “ ping of *England* are able to command the great and “ large Fields of the Ocean.” He cautions the *Dutch* never to contest the Dominion of the Sea with *England*, and shews them the Necessity of obtaining the Friendship of *England* for the Security of their Trade. The *Dutch* had prodigiously extended their Trade, and increased their Marine: So that they were now really in a Condition of disputing the Sovereignty of the Ocean with all the Powers of *Europe*; and *England* was now to defend herself like *Carthage*. The *Dutch*, indeed, acted as bravely as the *Romans*: But the *English* were more successful than the *Carthaginians*; and all the Powers of *Europe* were attentive to the mighty Preparations of the contending Republics; both of whom had thrown off Monarchy, embraced the same Religion, and got themselves acknowledged independent States.

THE first remarkable Sea-Fight between these potent Republics, happened while the *Dutch* Ambassadors were still carrying on their Negociation at *London*. The *Dutch* had 150 Ships of War in Readiness, commanded by the celebrated Admirals *Van Trump* and *De Ruyter*. The whole maritime Power of *England*, as it stood in the Beginning of this Year, consisted of the following Ships:

Ships

an.

Ships	Guns	Men	A. D.
1	56	280	<u>1652.</u>
3	52	270 each	
1	46	200	
5	44	180 each	
11	36	150 each	
2	32	120 each	
3	30	120 each	
2	26	100 each	
5	24	90 each	
5	20	80 each	
6	16	60 each	
9	10	50 each	

3 Ketches and 2 Shallops.

THESE 53 Ships, manned with 6200 Men, were for the Guard of the Coasts of *England, Ireland, and Scotland*. Besides which, there was a Squadron of eight Ships, carrying 290 Guns, and manned with 1250 Men, under Captain *William Pen* in the *Streights*. Another of 7 Ships, 238 Guns, and 860 Men, under the Command of Sir *George Ascue* at *Barbadoes*. Two Ships stationed at *Virginia*; three in the *Mediterranean*; and six for Convoys for the *Streights*. So that the whole naval Force of *England* consisted of 77 Ships, from 56 to 100 Guns, and manned with 8700 Mariners, whose Ex-pences for the Year were estimated at 420,264*l.* But this Navy was soon after increased to the Terror of all *Europe*; and, in the Reign of King *George the Second*, *Great-Britain* had a Fleet of 270 Ships, manned with 40,000 Seamen, for whom the Parliament annually granted two Millions of Pounds Sterling.

ABOUT the Middle of *May*, the Dutch Admiral *Van Trump*, one of the bravest and most experienced Sea-Officers in the World, appeared in the Channel, with a Fleet of 45 Ships of War, pretending to convoy some Merchant-men, and anchored in *Dover Road*, probably with a Design to give the *English* some Provocation to begin Hostilities. Admiral *Blake*, a gallant Officer, whom the *English* distinguished by the Title of their *General at Sea*, appeared in Sight, on the 17th of *May*, at the Back of the *Goodwin-Sands*, with the *Eng-*

A. D. *English* Fleet, consisting only of 26 Sail. The *English* Admiral ^{1652.} fired three Guns without Ball, as a Signal for the Dutch Admiral to strike his Flag; which the Dutch Admiral disregarded, put to Sea, and, in Contempt of the Signal, discharged one single Gun: Whereupon both Admirals formed the Line of Battle, and *Blake*, at that Instant, was reinforced by eight Ships; when the first Engagement began about Four in the Afternoon, and continued till Night. The two Admirals had positive Orders to avoid an Engagement without an absolute Necessity: But, as what they were now contending about was only a Point of Honour, both the Commanders were not over forward in engaging. The *English*, however, took one of the Dutch Ships, and sunk another, with the Loss of no more than 15 of their own Men; and next Morning the Dutch Admiral sailed for Zealand. This was only the Prelude of War, between these two glorious Commanders; and many idle Disputes happened about the Aggressors in this Battle. The Dutch denied that *Trump* had any Orders to fight, and pretended he had been forced upon the *English* Coasts: But, by the Behaviour of *Trump*, who treated the *English* Flag with such Contempt, it appears that he was determined to force *Blake* upon Hostilities; and, by his pouring the first Broadside upon *Blake*, he seems to have put it out of all Doubt, that the Dutch were the Aggressors, which was so firmly believed by the *English* Parliament, that they voted a Letter of Thanks to *Blake* for his Conduct.

THE Dutch sent an Ambassador Extraordinary to propose an Agreement with the *English* Parliament; who would hear of no Proposition, without being first satisfied for their Charges and Damages: Upon which the States recalled their Ambassadors, and resolved to continue the War, since there was no other Way to procure a Peace. The *English* Parliament applied, with more Assiduity than ever, to the Advancement of the naval Force of the Nation; and voted, that the Fleet should be increased with 40 Sail of new Ships; as also, that a Power should be given to the Council of State,

State, to raise what Mariners they thought proper: A. D. But every Thing was managed with a most amazing ^{1652.} Economy, which the Parliament considered as the Nurse of War. The *Dutch* published a Manifesto, in which they pretended to demonstrate, that the Parliament attacked them without any Provocation; and the Parliament answered it by another, declaring all their Occasions of Complaint; and resolving, at all Hazards, to maintain the Right of the *English* Flag.

THE War being sufficiently declared by the Engagement and Manifestoes, the *Dutch* sent *Van Trump* into the Channel with a Fleet of 70 Ships; whilst *Van Galen* sailed to the *Mediterranean* to fight the *English* there. Sir *George Aſcue*, who was returned from the *Barbadoes* Expedition, had a separate Command given him in the Channel, where he took several *Dutch* Ships; and *Blake*, in less than a Month, sent upwards of 40 rich Prizes into the *Thames*. *Blake*, on the 2d of *July*, left *Aſcue* in the *Downs* with only 7 Ships; and sailed himself with 60 Ships to the Northward, to attack the *Dutch* Herring Fleet, and their Convoy, consisting of 12 Ships of War. *Van Trump* intended to attack *Aſcue*: But, being informed that *Blake* was failed, he followed, and overtook him near *Newcastle*, where the *Dutch* Fleet was dispersed by a furious Tempest, which obliged *Van Trump* to return to *Holland* with only 60 Sail, and the rest that escaped Shipwreck could not arrive in the *Texel* till some Weeks after. While *Blake* was so ſuccesful, that he took 11 Ships of the *Dutch* Convoy, and might have destroyed all their Fishing-Veſſels; which would have been barbarous and unprecedented: Therefore, like the Earl of *Northumberland* in 1634, he permitted them to continue their Trade, on promising never to return to those Coasts without Periſſion, and upon their paying the tenth Herring.

SIR *George Aſcue* had his Squadron augmented to 38: Ships great and ſmall, with which he took ſeveral Prizes. But the *Dutch*, by this Time, had given their famous Admiral *De Ruyter* the Command of fifty Sail, and ſent him to convoy a rich Fleet of thirty Ships homeward bound, which were met by *Aſcue* on the 16th

A. D. of *August*, when the second Sea-Fight began, about 1652. Four in the Afternoon off *Plymouth*. A furious cannonading ensued till Night, without any great Effect. The *English* renewed the Charge the next Day; and a dropping Fight continued on the third Day: When *Ascue* thought proper to return to *Plymouth-Sound*; while *Ruyter* proceeded with his Convoy to *Holland*. The *English* suffered in their Rigging, and the *Dutch* in their Hulls: The former had not one of their Ships lost; though many of them were Merchant-men, commanded by Officers qualified for no other Service, and were far from well seconding their brave Admiral: But *Ruyter* had one Ship burnt and another taken. Both Republics thought it of the utmost Consequence to support their naval Reputation: And, therefore, both pretended to the Advantage upon this Occasion, and almost all others.

ADMIRAL *Blake* put again to Sea, with Orders to take and destroy the *French* Ships as well as the *Dutch*. The Trade of *Holland* was almost entirely ruined; and a Fleet of *French* Ships sent to relieve *Dunkirk*, which was going to be besieged by the *Spaniards*, was dispersed or destroyed. The *Dutch* then sent out their whole Navy, under *De Wit* and *De Ruyter*, who were followed by *Blake*; and, on the 28th of *October*, the third Sea-Fight began near the *North-Foreland*. Both Parties intended, upon this Day, to have decided the Empire of the Seas. *Pen* and *Bourn* commanded under *Blake*, who began the Attack in three Divisions, and continued it with such Fury, that the *Dutch* made all the Sail they could towards the *Goree*, after losing their Rear-Admiral, and three other Ships, two of which were funk, and the other was blown up. The *Dutch* dissembled their real Loss: But the *English* lost no Ship, and suffered most in their Rigging, having 40 Men killed, and 500 wounded.

THE *Dutch* were then determined to make their strongest Effort, and sent out *Van Trump* and *De Ruyter*, with 117 Men of War, to convoy their outward-bound Merchant-men, through the Channel, consisting of 300 Sail. The *English* thought it was impossible for the *Dutch*

Dutch to assemble so formidable an Armament; and A. D^o Blake, thinking the Season too far advanced for any ^{1652.} Action by Sea, had sent 15 Ships up the *Thames* to be refitted, laid up 12 at *Plymouth*, and detached 20 to guard the *Newcastle* Trade: So that he had only 37 Ships under his Command, which lay near the Scene of the last Action. *Van Trump* provided, in the best Manner he could, for the Safety of his Convoy, and made for the *Downs*, with 90 Ships, full of Hopes that he should surprize *Blake*, and by one decisive Blow, to destroy the maritime Power of *England*. The *Dutch* Fleet appeared on the *English* Coast, on the 29th of *November*, when *Blake* called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to fight the Enemy. The fourth Sea-Fight accordingly began about Eleven in the Fore-Noon, and continued till Six in the Evening, with infinite Disadvantages, besides that of Numbers, on the Part of the *English*, who were obliged first to retire to the *Downs*, and then to the *Thames*; having three Ships taken, and the *Dutch* had one of their Flag Ships blown up. *Van Trump* sailed to the *Isle of Rhee*, where he had appointed the Rendezvous of his Ships, and arrogantly boasted of his Success, by carrying a Broom on his Main-top-mast, as if he had swept, or would sweep, all the *English* Shipping out of the Channel: But this Defeat of the *English* was more honourable than the Victory of their Enemies. *Blake* was wounded in this Engagement: But the next Year he was fully revenged of *Van Trump*, who was killed in Battle.

THE *Dutch* Admiral *Van Gallen* obtained some Advantage over Commodore *Bodley* in the *Mediterranean*, who retired under the Cannon of *Porto-Longone*, in the *Isle of Elba*, in the *Tuscan* Sea, after disengaging himself with great Honour from the superior Force of the *Dutch*. However, the *English* Republicans, by their Vigour and Spirit, struck all *Europe* with Consternation; whereby the *English* Flag was such a Protection to Commerce, that the Trade of the World seemed now to center in *England*; which began to perceive the Benefit of her *American* Colonies; while the *Dutch* placed their principal

A. D. principal Resource in their Settlements in the *East-Indies*,
1652. where they had established themselves by Perfidy, Violence, and Cruelty.

THIS Year, Prince *Maurice* was lost in a Hurricane in the *West-Indies*: But nothing else material happened with regard to naval Occurrences.

THE strong Desire shewn by the *English* Parliament to continue this War upon such remote Pretences, gave Room to conjecture, there were other Motives for engaging in it than what publickly appeared. It is pretended, *Cromwell* consented to this Hostility, of which he saw no Necessity, in pure Complaisance to *St. John*, and some others, who appeared extreamly incensed against *Holland*. But it is not improbable, that some Members promoted this War, to lessen the Power of *Cromwell*, who they suspected was labouring for himself, instead of the Commonwealth, however careful he was to conceal his Ambition under the Mask of the publick Good. They had participated in his Counsels and Designs to subvert the Presbyterian Parliament, and they thought themselves intitled to a Share in the Government: But they knew his Capacity, and dreaded his Ambition, as the Army was intirely at his Devotion: Therefore, they conceived, that, if the Republic could be engaged in a Sea-War, the Parliament would gradually be induced to disband a Land-Army, to avoid an unnecessary Expence. This is the more readily to be supposed, because all the Submissions of the *Dutch* were ineffectual to procure them a Peace, till *Cromwell* destroyed the Parliament, which he began to perceive was attempting his Ruin.

THE Lord-General *Cromwell* complained to Commissioner *Whitelock*, that the Army was discontented with the Parliament; and said, " There was a great deal of Fear, that they would destroy again what *the Lord* had done graciously for them." He also complained, that their Authority was too great, and put this Question to *Whitelock*, " What if a Man should take upon him to be King?" *Whitelock* said, " He thought that Remedy would be worse than the Disease."

“ ease.” *Cromwell* desired him to give his Reasons for A. D. such an Opinion, which *Whitelock* delivered in a very 1652. frank and honest Manner; declaring, “ That he apprehended less Envy, Danger, and Pomp; but not less Power, and real Opportunities of doing Good, in *Cromwell’s* being General, than would be if he assumed the Title of King.” *Cromwell* proceeded to argue, “ That whoever was actually King by Election, the Acts done by him were as lawful and justifiable, as if done by a King who had the Crown by Inheritance: And that, by an Act of Parliament made in the Reign of *Henry* the Seventh, it was safer for the People to act under a King, let his Title be what it would, than under any other Power.” *Whitelock* says, he agreed to the Legality, but much doubted of the Expediency of it: And being asked, “ What Danger he apprehended in taking this Title?” He answered, “ That one of the main Points of Controversy between them and their Adversaries, was, whether the Government of the Nation should be established in Monarchy, or in a free State or Commonwealth? Therefore, if his Excellency took upon him the Title of King, this State of the Cause would be thereby wholly determined, and Monarchy established in his Person; when the Question would be no more, whether the Government should be by a Monarch, or by a free State; but whether *Cromwell* or *Stewart* should be King?” He informed *Cromwell*, that the Officers of the Army were encouraged by some Members of Parliament to plot against him, with an Intention of clipping his Wings: Upon which, *Cromwell* asked his Advice, “ for the Prevention of those Mischiefs that hung over their Heads?” When *Whitelock* told him, “ That the King of *Scotland* was reduced to such a very low Condition, that both he, and all about him, could not but be very inclinable to hearken to any Terms, whereby their lost Hopes might be revived of his being restored to the Crown, and they to their Fortunes and native Country. That, by a private Treaty with the King, *Cromwell* might secure him self,

A. D. " self, his Friends and their Fortunes ; he might make
1652. " himself, and his Posterity, as great and permanent, to
" all human Probability, as ever any Subject was, and
" provide for his Friends : He might put such Limits to
" monarchial Power, as would secure their spiritual and
" civil Liberties : He might protect the Cause in which
" they were all engaged, by having the Power of the Mi-
" litia continued in himself, and whom he should agree
" upon after him. Therefore, *Whitelock* advised *Cromwell*
" to send to the King, and to have a private Treaty with
" him for this Purpose." But *Cromwell* broke off the Dis-
course, and went away with great Displeasure in his
Countenance : After which, his Carriage to *Whitelock*
was quite altered ; and he soon found an Occasion, by
an honourable Employment, to send him out of the Way,
that he might not interrupt him in his Designs.

It was now manifest, that *Cromwell* aspired to the
Crown ; and, upon this Occasion, he sent for some of
the principal City Divines, as if he made it a Matter of
Conscience to be determined by their Advice. Among
these was the leading Mr. *Calamy*, who boldly opposed
the Project of *Cromwell's* single Government ; offering
to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. *Crom-
well* answered readily upon the first Head of Illegality ;
and appealed to the Safety of the Nation, being the su-
preme Law. " But, says he, pray, Mr. *Calamy*, why im-
practicable ? " *Calamy* replied, " Oh ! it is against the Voice
of the Nation ; there will be Nine in Ten against you."
" Very well, says *Cromwell* ; but what if I should disarm
the Nine, and put the Sword in the tenth Man's Hand,
would not that do the Business ? "

WHAT Commissioner *Whitelock* had advised, was left
for a better Man than *Cromwell* to perform ; who, in-
stead of infamously aspiring to the Crown, might have
obtained immortal Honour by placing it on the Head
of the right Heir, and acting like General *Monk*. *Crom-
well* despised the Danger pointed out by *Calamy*, because
he was at the Head of an Army, consisting of 13,400
Men in *England* ; and the Forces in *Scotland*, amount-
ing to 19000 Men, were also devoted to his Service.

as were those in *Ireland*, which were near 20,000; so ^{A. D.} that *Cromwell* had 50,000 Veterans under his Com-^{1652.} mand, all of them *English*; which made him determine that nothing should interrupt the Course of his Ambition.

THE King was all this Time in *France*, and endeavoured to make his Advantage of all the Circumstances ^{A. D. 1653.} of the War. He proposed to *Borsel*, the *Dutch* Ambassador at *Paris*, to go on Board the *Dutch* Fleet as a Volunteer: But the States civilly rejected his Offer, as they wanted to obtain a Peace. The *English* Parliament had some Apprehensions that the *Dutch* would make an Attempt upon the *Isle of Wight*, where the Duke of *Gloucester* still resided: Upon which, they resolved to put him under the same Disqualification with his two Brothers, by voting that he should be sent Abroad; and he was accordingly sent to his Sister the Princess of *Orange*, with the Promise of a small Appointment if he was restrained from going near his Mother or his Brother.

CROMWELL and his Officers were daily complaining of the long Parliament; seeming very zealous, upon the common Pretences of Right, Justice, and public Liberty, to put a Period to their Session: "which, if they would not shortly do themselves, the Army and People must do it for them." They particularly complained, "the Parliament ordered all Things at Will, and distributed all valuable Employments among themselves; that they studied to perpetuate themselves; that they were so many Kings, and for one Sovereign, the Nation had many, who cared less for the Laws than him whom they had destroyed; that they ought to be dissolved, and a new Parliament chosen by the universal Consent of the People, according to the Scheme laid when Monarchy was abolished to set up a Commonwealth." Nor were they at Peace, 'till they had accomplished their Designs.

SCOTLAND was enslaved by the *English* Army, and treated as a conquered Country, though General *Monk* commanded there, who proceeded with the Marquis

A. D. quis of *Argyle*, to the Settlement of the Government, 1653, without consulting the pragmatical Clergy ; for even the *Scotch* Royalists were better pleased with the Tyranny of the *English* Army, than of their own Kirk. The *English* Parliament appointed General *Monk*, Major General *Lambert*, Major General *Dean*, and five other Commissioners, to settle the Affairs of *Scotland*, who sat at *Dalkeith*, and exacted an Oath of Fidelity to the Commonwealth of *England*, from all those who bore any Offices in *Scotland*. The *English* alfo wanted the total Abrogation of the municipal Law, and the established Religion in *Scotland* ; but both were opposed by *Argyle*, who kept the Sword in his Hand, threatening to obtain honourable Terms for his Country, or bury himself and his Fortunes in its Ruins ; which made the *English* Commissioners content themselves with sending *English* Judges to administer Justice in *Scotland* ; and to agree that Twenty-one *Scotch* Deputies should have Seats in the *English* Parliament.

THE Affairs in *Ireland* were far from alarming *England* : But *Ireton* died soon after he had taken *Limerick* ; being, next to *Cromwell*, the most dangerous Man of the Faction ; and even his Father-in-law stood in such Awe of him, that, while he loved his Person, he grew Jealous of his Abilities. The Parliament Commissioners at *Dublin*, appointed *Ludlow* to take upon him the Command of the Army, until further Orders arrived from *England*. But many Disputes happened in appointing a Successor to *Ireton* ; for *Lambert* had a strong Party, who wanted to make him Lord Lieutenant : However, *Cromwell* got himself continued in the chief Command, and appointed *Fleetwood* his Lieutenant General.

THE *English* Parliament thought of giving their Republic the same Reverence in the Eyes of the World, as had been paid to that of *Rome* ; flattering themselves that the rising Glories of their Country would atone for many temporary Inconveniences with the People. The necessary Expence of the Government, for their Fleets and Armies, amounted annually to 1,560,000l. yet

yet they spent all the Winter in prodigious Efforts to render their Fleets invincible, and repair the Damage it had received in the late Fight, the Success of which had rendered the *Dutch* extremely insolent. By the 11th of February, *Blake* had a Fleet of Sixty Men of War under his Command, many of them new Ships of very large Burthen, and well manned. The *Dutch* also vigorously exerted themselves, and sent *Van Trump* to Sea, with a strong Fleet to convoy 260 Merchant Ships from the Isle of *Rhee*: But, as he entered the Channel, he was met by *Blake*, on the 18th of February, when the Fifth Sea-Fight began. The Number of Ships were equal on both Sides; and, as *Popham* was dead, *Blake* was assisted by *Monk* and *Dean*, newly arrived from *Scotland*, for that Purpose: While *Van Trump* was assisted by *de Ruyter*. A furious Engagement ensued, which continued three Days; when *Trump* was obliged to retire, after losing eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchant-men, with 2000 Men killed, 1500 wounded, and 1100 taken Prisoners. The *English* lost only one Ship; but their Loss in Men was little inferior to that of the *Dutch*; for the Battle was the most bloody and desperate that ever was fought.

THIS great Loss so sensibly affected the States of *Holland*, and *West Friesland*, that they solicited again for Peace; which was refused by the Parliament, though the Negotiation was promoted by *Cromwell*, who was desirous of Peace, as he was jealous that so many naval Victories would eclipse his military Glory. He found Affairs in such a Situation, that the Parliament was either to be subdued, or himself ruined; and he determined to make himself Master of the Parliament, rather than become their Slaves.

SINCE the Battles of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, *Cromwell* had so acquired the Esteem of the Army, that they supported the Parliament only as its Interests were confounded with those of their General, who had no great Difficulty in withdrawing the Confidence of the Former from the Latter; which was the Method practised by the Independents, to ruin the Presbyterian Parliament.

A. D. liament. With this View, he caused the Officers of the 1653. Army, in a general Council, to frame a Petition, and present it to the Parliament; in which they demanded, "the Payment of their Arrears; the putting an End to the Parliament, and summoning a more equal Representative, as the most popular Action they could perform."

THE Parliament were sensible their Proceedings had rendered them odious to the whole Kingdom; yet they complained of the Insolency of this Petition, and ordered the Officers to be reprimanded for their Presumption. The Majority were unwilling to part with their Authority, especially as they apprehended they would be called to an Account for their Conduct; and it was, therefore, resolved, "That it was not yet Time to dissolve the Parliament." Besides, to give a timely Check to any farther Presumptions of that Nature, a Committee was appointed to prepare an Act, with all possible Expedition, "for filling up of the House, and to declare it High-Treason to propose, or contrive, the changing of the present Government."

CROMWELL perceived how unwilling they were to part with their Authority, which they had kept upwards of twelve Years; and, on the 19th of April, held a Consultation with his principal Friends in the Parliament and Army, at his Lodgings in *White-Hall*, to consider of some Expedient for the present carrying on of the Government of the Commonwealth, and putting a Period to the Parliament. *Widdrington* and *Whitelock* declared it would be dangerous to dissolve the House: But *Cromwell*, and most of his Officers, insisted it was necessary; proposing that about forty Persons should be nominated by the Parliament, and empowered to manage the Affairs of the Commonwealth 'till a new Parliament should be chosen. During this Conference, *Cromwell* was informed, the Parliament were debating about an Act for continuing themselves a Year and half longer; which so much exasperated him, that he marched directly to the House, at the Head of 300 Men, and surrounded all the Avenues. He entered the House, and said, "he was going to do that which grieved him to

the

the very Soul, and what he had earnestly with Tears A. D. ^{1653.} prayed to God against : But that there was a Necessity laid upon him therein, *for the Glory of God, and the Good of all the Nation.*" He sat down for some Time to hear the Debates ; and when, the Question for passing the Act was put, he suddenly rose up, ordered the Speaker to leave the Chair, and told the House, " They had sat long enough, unless they had done more Good : That it was not fit they should sit as a Parliament any longer ; and he must desire them to go away." He taxed several of them with particular Vices ; and, when some of the Members began to speak, he slept into the Middle of the House, saying, " come, come, I will end your Prating." Then, walking up and down the House, he cried out, " You are no Parliament ; I say, you are no Parliament :" And, stamping with his Foot, he told them to be gone, and give Room to honest Men. Upon this Signal the Soldiers entered the House ; and he ordered one of them, to " take away that Bauble ;" meaning the Mace. *Harrison* took the Speaker down from the Chair by the Arm ; and *Cromwell* seized all the Papers : After which, he ordered the Soldiers to see the House cleared of all Members, caused the Doors to be locked up, and returned to *White-Hall*, without any Opposition from the Members ; though there were about 100 in the House, and many of them with Swords : So that it is surprising *Cromwell* escaped an Assassination.

THIS was an extraordinary Action ; but no more than was done a few Years before, by General *Fairfax*, when he expelled and imprisoned the Members, who were disagreeable to the Army. Though, as *Whitelock* observes, it thus pleased God, that this Assembly, famous throughout the World for its Undertakings, Actions, and Successes ; having subdued all their Enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their Servants ; and those whom they had raised, now pulled down their Masters : An Example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be paralleled in any Story ! By which all Persons may be instructed, how uncertain and subject to change all worldly Affairs are : How apt to fall when we think them highest. THE

A. D. THE same Day, *Cromwell* dissolved the Council of State, in the same Manner as he had dissolved the Parliament : Though *Bradshaw* boldly told him, That, no Power under Heaven could dissolve the Parliament, but themselves."

THUS the long Parliament met with its Dissolution, after sitting almost Thirteen Years ; and the Commonwealth was overturned, after it had been established about Four Years : But the long Parliament was restored for a short Time, in 1659. If *Cromwell* had called a free Parliament, and submitted to it himself, the People would have looked upon him as their Deliverer, and adored him like another *Timoleon* : But *Cromwell* resolved to model the Government after his own Way, and become the Usurper of the Crown, instead of the preserver of his Country. It is true, the People had been tired with Monarchs intoxicated with Notions of Arbitrary Power : they were not happy under either of the Presbyterian or Independent Parliaments : And this induced *Cromwell* to make the Experiment of a fourth Kind of Government, which he knew could not fail of raising him Enemies among all the three Parties of the Royalists, Presbyterians, and Independents.

IN this Manner, *Cromwell* became Master of three Kingdoms, by a single Action : For, though he would not assume the Title of *Protector*, 'till several Months after, his Power was in Effect the same from the very Moment he succeeded in this bold Undertaking. He assembled the chief Officers of the Army at *White-Hall*, to deliberate upon what was proper to be done in this Exigency ; and, by their Advice, he published a Declaration of the Grounds and Reasons for the Dissolution of the late Parliament : It inveighed bitterly against the Pride, Corruption, and Ambition of the late Members ; shewed that they neglected the Remonstrances of the Army and People ; which made it necessary to place the Government in better Hands for a Time ; hoping thereby the People might forget Monarchy, and understand their true Interest in the Election of successive Parliaments. They promised to put the Government into the Hands of *Persons* of approved Fidelity and Honesty ; declaring, that all civil Offices,

Officers should proceed in their respective Places and A. D. Offices, as when the Parliament was sitting. This Declaration was subscribed, on the 22d of April, by the Lord-General and his Council of Officers, who, with some others, were formed into a Council of State. They were thirty in all, and their Declaration was so well received throughout all the Dominions of the Commonwealth, that it was answered by many Congratulations and Addresses from the Fleet, the Army, and the People; acknowledging their Approbation of dissolving the Parliament, and promising to stand by the General and his Council. It is remarkable, that this gave Rise to the Practice of Addressing, which has been so common in the succeeding Reigns.

CROMWELL might have taken the Administration of the Government, by the same Authority that he had dismissed the Parliament. He had done what he could not undo: The Laws, the Power, and the Liberties of *England* were in his own Breast; and all that remained was the Formality of giving a consistent Denomination to the Power he had assumed. The Glory of *England* by Sea was now the public Passion; nor was it to be checked by any private Disputes about particular Forms of Government, whether it was vested in a *Cromwell*, a Council, or a Parliament. This was extremely favourable to *Cromwell*, who had no Design to usurp the Sovereign Power by Violence: But was contriving how it should be given him by a Parliament, that he might dazzle the Eyes of the People with so venerable an Authority.

LAMBERT was for entrusting the supreme Power in the Hands of Ten or Twelve Persons: *Harrison* was for a greater Number, and inclined most to that of 70, as being the Number of the *Jewish* Sanhedrim: But *Cromwell* prevailed upon the Council of State, to summon 144 Persons, including Five from *Scotland*, and Six from *Ireland*, to be nominated by themselves, out of every County, who should be a Representative of the whole Nation; which was a most ridiculous System of Government, especially as *Cromwell* issued out the Writs

A. D. 1653. on the 6th of June, in his own Name, as Captain General. Lord *Clarendon* says, that many Persons of great Fortune and Quality accepted of this Summons ; which *Whitelock* remarks, was much wondered at, considering how little Authority *Cromwell* and his Officers had to confer upon them, or they to take, the supreme Authority of the Nation : But *Rapin* is wrong, when he asserts, they were all Men of no Birth, illiterate, ignorant, and unexperienced in public Affairs ; though it is true, too many of them were so, being Tradesmen, or Artificers.

THE Members summoned, to the Number of 120, met in the Council-Chamber at *Whitehall*, on the 4th of July, about eleven Weeks after the Dissolution of the late Parliament. *Cromwell* made a Speech, and, when it was ended, delivered to them an Instrument, under his Hand and Seal, and drawn up by the Advice of his Officers, delegating to that Assembly the supreme Power of the Nation. This Instrument import-ed, "that any Forty of them might act for the whole Eody, to whom all Persons were to yield Obedience, till the 3d of November, 1654, that is, during one whole Year and four Months : That three Months before their Dissolution, they were to appoint their own Successors, whose Authority should not exceed a Year, when they were likewise to nominate their Successors." The next Day, the Members met in the House of Commons, when they voted themselves to be a Parliament, and chose Mr. *Rouse* for their Speaker. They also appointed a *Council of State* of their own, consisting of the Generals *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and *Desborough* : The Colonels *Thomlinson*, *Jones*, *Stapeley*, *Sydenham*, *Bennet*, and *Hewson* ; Major *Selway*, Lord *Viscount Lisle*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Samuel Moyer*, Sir *James Hope*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and Sir *Charles Wolsey* ; Alderman *Tichburne*, *Norton*, *Williams*, *Howard*, *Lawrence*, *Hollister*, *Courtney*, *Broughton*, *Major*, *Montague*, and *St. Nicholas*.

THESE were unexceptionable Men to *Cromwell* ; yet not so docile as to give him an Opportunity to drop the

the Mask of his Ambition: But he easily foresaw the new Parliament would soon be weary of the Government, and obliged to reconvey it into his Hands, which would furnish him with the best Pretence of assuming it to himself. *Ludlow* says, that some among them were brought in as Spies and Trepanners; though they made the highest Pretensions to Honesty, and the Service of the Nation. In Fact, there was so much Confusion in their Councils, such a Contrariety in their Opinions, such a Dissonancy in their Actions, and Disparity in their Projections, that this motley Senate was more like a many-headed Monster, than a well ordered Assembly, as the Members were composed of Independents, Anabaptists, and Presbyterians. The People, in Derision, soon called them *Barebones's Parliament*; from one *Praise-God Barebones*, a Leatherseller in *Fleet-Street*, who was a very busy Man in this Assembly. It was also called by some, *The Little Parliament*; and, by others, *The Godly Parliament*, from an Order that none should be admitted into the House, but such Persons of whose real Godliness they were well assured. At the best, it was only the Shadow of a Parliament, ridiculous in all its Proceedings, controuled by the Council of State, and serving only for the Scaffold on which *Cromwell* might ascend to his utmost Height of Ambition; but, when he was arrived there, the Scaffolding was to be knocked in pieces.

WHILE *Cromwell* was regulating the State, the War was carrying on with Vigour. The *Dutch* had formed mighty Expectations from the late Revolution in *England*; imagining that it would be now torn to Pieces by another Civil-War, and give the *Dutch* an Opportunity of retrieving their naval Glory. With these Hopes, notwithstanding their late Pretences to Peace, they set out a greater Fleet to Sea than they had done before; and *Van Trump* boasted he would fire the *English* Ships in their Harbours: But the new Government in *England* were equally vigilant, and had been furnished with naval Stores from *Sweden*. In *May*, the *English* sent out a Fleet, consisting of ninety-five Men of War, and five

A. D. Fireships, commanded by *Monk* and *Dean* as Admirals, 1653. *Pen* as Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* as Rear-Admiral; *Blake* being on a separate Command with eighteen Ships. The *Dutch* also sent out a Fleet, consisting of ninety-eight Men of War, and seven Fireships, commanded by *Van Trump*, *De Ruyter*, *De Wit*, and the two *Evertsons*, who came up with the *English* Fleet, on the 2d of June, early in the Morning, off the *North Foreland*; when the sixth Sea-Fight began, with such Fury, that, at the first Broad-Side of the Enemy, Admiral *Dean* was shot off almost in the Middle by a Cannon-Ball: But *Monk*, with admirable Presence of Mind, concealed the Loss of that great Officer, by instantly covering the Body with his Cloak. The Battle continued, with amazing Intrepidity on both Sides, till three in the Afternoon, when the *Dutch* retreated in great Confusion, and were pursued by the *English* till it was dark, who sunk four *Dutch* Ships, and blew up one of their Flag-Ships. The next Morning, the *English* prepared to renew the Engagement: But the *Dutch* were so much intimidated, that it was with great Difficulty their gallant Admirals could bring them to face the Enemy; and the Wind was so slack, that *Monk* could not come to engage till about Noon, when the Battle was renewed with redoubled Fury, and continued extremely hot till ten at Night. *Trump* was twice boarded by *Pen*, but disengaged by *De Ruyter* and *De Wit*. The rest of the *English* Fleet charged the *Dutch* with such Bravery and Resolution, that they again put them into great Disorder, and obliged most of them to make off to the Eastward; though *Van Trump* fired on them, to rally again. The *English* pursued them with such Success, that they sunk six of their capital Ships, blew up two others, and took eleven, with 1350 Prisoners, among whom were six of their principal Captains. Towards the End of this Battle, Admiral *Blake* came in with his eighteen fresh Ships, and the whole *Dutch* Fleet had been taken or destroyed, if they had not got shelter on the Flats between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where it was dangerous for the *English* to continue the Pursuit. The Loss

of the *English* was greatest in their Admiral *Dean*; for A. D. there was only one Captain, and about 150 common ^{1652.} Seamen killed: More were wounded; but there was not a single Ship missing!

THE Defeat of *Van Trump* was unexpected by his Countrymen, who were exasperated to the highest Degree, at seeing the victorious Fleet of *England* riding Mistress of the Sea, blocking up the *Dutch* Fleet in their own Harbours, and giving frequent Alarms to the Coasts of *Holland*. They sent new Deputies to *London*, to solicit Peace; but they were told, they must not expect it, "without uniting both States together, in such a Manner, as that they might become one People, and Commonwealth, for the Good of both :" Which made the *Dutch* apprehend the *English* intended to treat them as they had done the *Scotch*. Amazing Efforts were then made by the *Dutch* Government, to put their Marine in a better Condition than ever; and *Van Trump*, in *July*, found himself at the Head of a formidable Fleet, on Board of which the principal Lords of the States embarked; and nothing was now talked of, in their Turn, but the blocking up of the *English* Ports and Harbours.

THE *English* Fleet, consisting of 106 Ships, commanded by *Monk*, *Blake*, *Lawson*, and *Pen*, lay hovering about the *Dutch* Coast till the 29th of *July*; when *Van Trump* came out of the *Wielings*, with ninety-five Sail; and, about thirty of the nimblest *English* Frigates, began a dropping Engagement, which continued till they were parted by the Night. *Van Trump* bore away towards the *Texel*, where he was joined by the Division under *De Ruyter* and *De Wit*, when the *Dutch* Fleet was augmented to 120 Ships. The Wind was so high, on the 30th, that the *English* Fleet stood out to Sea, for Fear of falling upon the Flats; which made some of the *Dutch* Officers suppose, that their Enemy was flying: But *Van Trump* had too much experienced their Courage, to be of that Opinion; and ordered them all "to look " to their Charge; for if the *English* were but 20 Sail, "he was sure they would fight them." The next

A. D. Morning proved fair, and brought on the seventh Sea-fight, which began, somewhat at a Distance, about five o'Clock; but it was not long before both Fleets were desperately engaged. The Sea was never adorned with a more gallant Sight in the Beginning of the Day, nor covered with a more dismal Scene in the latter End; as no Fight was ever carried on with more bloody Obstinacy, and desperate Rage, than this was for several Hours together; *Monk* having ordered "that no Quarters should be given or taken." The *Dutch* fought with intrepid Courage till Noon; when their brave Admiral *Van Trump*, as he stood upon his Deck with his Sword drawn, bravely encouraging his Men, was shot into the Heart with a Musket-Ball, and dropt down dead without speaking a Word. In the Afternoon, the Death of this glorious Admiral was known through both the Fleets; which so much intimidated the *Dutch*, that they retired towards their own Coasts with the utmost Precipitation. Some Writers say, that neither Side could justly boast of the Victory; without considering, that the *Dutch* had twenty-seven of their prime Ships taken or destroyed, with the Loss of 4000 Men killed, and 1000 taken out of the Sea by the Humanity of the *English*, who lost only four Ships, eight Captains, and 500 Men killed, having also five Captains and 700 Men wounded. Indeed, the *English* Ships were so much disabled, that they were obliged to leave the *Dutch* Coasts, which the Enemy looked upon as a Conquest; though they confessed, that the Loss of their adored Admiral *Van Trump* was irreparable to *Holland*.

THE News of this Victory was received with such Demonstrations of Joy in *England*, that the mock Parliament appointed a Day of Thanksgiving for it, and ordered a Narrative of the Engagement to be publickly read. *Blake* and *Monk* were presented with Gold Chains to the Value of 300*l.* a Piece; *Pen* and *Larvson* to the Value of 100*l.* a Piece; the other four Flag-Officers to the Value of 40*l.* a Piece; and 2000*l.* were distributed among the Officers of the Fleet in Medals: While great Care was taken of the Widows and Children of the Officers who had

had been killed. *Cromwell* speedily repaired the *Eng- A. D.
lish Fleet*, in Hopes of receiving some Advantage from 1652.
the Confarnation of the *Dutch*: But the repaired Fleet
suffered so much Damage in a violent Storm, that *Crom-
well* was under a Necessity of either making a Peace,
or loading the People with new Taxes, which was very
improper in his present Situation.

NOTHING considerable was done by *Barebone's Par-
liament*, except that they had vigorously proceeded in
establishing the public Credit, as the surest Foundation
of national Honour and Prosperity. They also made
a Law for Marriages, ordering the *Banns* to be pub-
lished in the next Market, three several Days, and the
Ceremony to be performed by a Justice of Peace: But
the chief national Affairs were in the Hands of the
Council of State, who remitted them only out of Form
to the Parliament. The Fanatics were at great Vari-
ance with each other in this Parliament, and *Cromwell*
resolved to put a Period to the very Shadow of their
Authority. Accordingly, the Officers and Council of
State gave them a fair Intimation, that their sitting
longer was disagreeable to *Cromwell*: Upon which a
Motion was made, on the 12th of *December*, " that the
" sitting of this Parliament any longer, would not be
" for the Good of the Commonwealth; and that it
" would be fit for them to resign up their Powers into
" the Hands of the Lord-General." It met with some
Opposition: But it was moved, " that all who were
" for a Dissolution, should rise and walk out." Then
the Speaker, and the Majority of the Members, went
with the Mace to *Whitehall*; and, by a Writing under
their Hands, resigned up their Powers to the General.
However, about twenty Members continued in the
House, placed *Moyer* in the Chair, and fell to protesting
against what the rest had done; till they were turned
out by a Party of Soldiers; who thereby put a Period
to an Assembly which had continued five Months and
eight Days, to the great Reproach of the *English Na-
tion*.

A. D. THIS was the third Time the House of Commons
1653. had been violently emptied by the Army ; so that Crom-
well and his Officers were once more invested with the
supreme Power, by that Parliament on which themselves
had conferred their pretended Authority. Two Days
after, the Council of Officers declared, that the Govern-
ment of the Republic should be invested in a single Per-
son for the future ; and that the Lord-General should
be chosen *Lord Protector* of the three Nations, who was
to be assisted with a Council of twenty-one Persons.

UPON this, a large Writing was drawn up, commonly
called *The Instrument of Government*, and intitled, “ The
“ Government of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland,*
“ and *Ireland* ;” consisting of forty-two Articles :
Whereby it was ordained, “ *That* the supreme legisla-
tive Authority should be, and reside in, one Person,
and the People assembled in Parliament ; the Stile of
which Person should be, *Lord Protector* of the Com-
monwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, who should
be invested with the executive Power, assisted with a
Council ; the Number whereof should not exceed twen-
ty-one, nor be less than thirteen. *That* all Proceedings
should run in the Name and Stile of the *Lord Protec-
tor*, from whom all Magistracy and Honours should be
derived ; and that he might pardon all Offences, ex-
cept Treason and Murder. *That* the Militia and Forces
both by Sea and Land should be under his Order, by
Consent of Parliament while it was sitting ; or with the
Consent of the major Part of the Council during the In-
tervals of Parliament. *That* he and his Council should
have the Power of War and Peace. *That* no new Laws
should be made, or old Ones abrogated, without Consent
of Parliament ; which should be summoned to meet at
Westminster on the 3d of *September* 1654, and afterwards
once in every third Year, to be accounted from the
Dissolution of the preceding Parliament, which the Pro-
tector should not adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve, without
their Consent, till after five Months. *That* the Parlia-
ment should consist of 400 Members for *England, Wales,*
Jersey, Guernsey, and *Town of Berwick upon Tweed* ; thirty
for

for *Scotland*; and thirty for *Ireland*; to be chosen according to the Propositions and Numbers therein expressed. *That* if the Protector should not issue Writs for the triennial Parliament, before the 1st Day of *August* in every third Year, such Writs should be issued by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, under Pain of High-Treason; and in Default thereof by the Sheriffs. *That* all those who have opposed the Parliament since the 1st of *January*, 1641, should be incapable of being elected, or voting for any Members, in the next, or the three succeeding triennial Parliaments; and *Irish* Rebels and Papists should be for ever incapable. *That* the Members elected should be approved of by the Council; that sixty Members should be deemed a Parliament; and that, when a War should happen, a Parliament should be immediately called for their Advice. *That* if the Protector should not pass such Bills as were presented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament, within twenty Days, such Bills should become Laws without his Consent. *That* a constant yearly Revenue should be established for maintaining 10,000 Horse, and 20,000 Foot, in the three Kingdoms; as also for the Charge of the Navy; besides 200,000*l.* for civil Affairs, which should be raised only by Consent in Parliament. *That* all forfeited Lands, unsold in *England*, should belong to the Protector, and should not be aliened without Consent in Parliament. *That* the Office of Protector should be elective, and not hereditary: And that, on the Death of the Protector, thirteen of the Council should elect a fit Person to succeed in the Government; but the royal Family should be excluded; and no Protector, after the present, should be General of the Army. *That* Oliver Cromwell should be Protector for his Life: But the Officers of State should be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament; and, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament. *That* the Christian Religion, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, should be recommended to be publickly professed: But a Toleration should be extended to all Persons, except such as

A.D. adhered to Popery and Prelacy, or as practised Licentiousness. *That* the Sales made by the Parliament of 1653. forfeited Estates, and the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, should remain firm and good. *That* every successive Protector should bind himself by Oath, to seek the Peace and Welfare of the three Nations, to administer Justice, observe these Articles, and govern according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs."

THIS Instrument was both illegal and unconstitutional: But it contained many wise Provisions adapted to a Republican System: However, the common Law of the Land was still preserved; and, though the Form of the Parliament was altered, all its Power was retained. The Breach which *Cromwell* made in *Magna Charta*, was nothing like so great as that which was made by *Richard* the second, who had a Parliament so much devoted to his Will, that they made no Scruple to repeal the most wholesome Laws, to sacrifice the Liberties and Privileges of the People, to destroy the principal Nobility, and place the King above all Law; whereby the limited Monarchy of *England* was changed into an absolute one, which lost their deluded King his Crown and his Life. By the 70th Article of *Magna Charta*, twenty-five Barons were appointed to see that the King observed what he had thereby granted to the People: And, by the 25th Article of *The Instrument of Government*, a Council was appointed to see that the Protector observed the Articles to which he was sworn; Whereby it appears, that the Parliament were for restraining *Cromwell*, in much the same Manner as *King John* was restrained by the Barons. *The Instrument of Government* may be considered as an Innovation upon some Parts of the *Great Charter*: But when it had been farther violated by *James* the Second, the Constitution reverted into its ancient Stream by *The Bill of Rights*, passed in 1689, which was afterwards improved by *The Act of Settlement*.

CROMWELL, by this Instrument, was invested with almost Royal Authority, and Preparations were making for inaugurating him in a Manner suitable to Royal Dignity.

Dignity. On the 16th of December, he was conducted A. D. in great Pomp, from *Whitehall* to the Chancery-Court^{1653.} in *Westminster-Hall*, preceded by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Council of State, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*; after whom came the Lord General, attended by the chief Officers of the Army, and a great Body of Soldiers. In this Procession they ascended the Chancery-Court, where a rich Chair of State was placed, with a large Cushion, and Carpets on the Floor. The General stood on the Left-Hand of it uncovered, till *The Instrument of Government* was read, which he subscribed in open Court, and took an Oath to observe it to the utmost of his Power; as also, "in all other Things, to the best of his Understanding, to govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs; seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administered." After this, he sat down in the Chair covered; when the Commissioners delivered up the Great Seal to him; and the Lord-Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; which the Protector immediately returned to them again. The Ceremony being over, the Soldiers shouted for Joy, and cried out, "God bless the Lord Protector;" who was reconducted in the same Manner to *Whitehall*, with the Sword of State carried before him by *Lambert*; after which, *Cromwell* assumed the Title of *Highness*, and *Lord Protector*; being proclaimed as such all over the three Kingdoms, that formed but one Commonwealth; and the City of *London* invited him to a splendid Entertainment, where the Solemnity of his Reception was equal to the greatest Magnificence that ever had been paid to the greatest King. All Writs and Process were altered from the Stile of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, to that of *Protector*: And all Ceremonies were paid to *Cromwell* as if he had been a sovereign Prince.

CARDINAL RETZ observes, that *Cromwell* said to *Bellevre*, "A Man never rises so high, as when he knows not where he is going." Who could have expected, that a Man, whose Birth seemed to have placed him at

A. D. an infinite Distance from Sovereignty, and who is said
1653. to have been bred a Brewer, should find Means to be
 invested with the supreme Authority? It is true, he
 paved the Way to this extraordinary Pitch of Power,
 by murdering his King, and trampling on the Presby-
 terians. His Reputation increased by a Series of con-
 tingent and unexpected Events: He had all the Power
 of Royalty without the Title; and he made the greatest
 Figure of any Potentate in *Europe*; for his Friendship
 was courted by those States who trembled at his Power,
 and his Alliance sought by those Princes who dreaded
 his Resentment.

In 1649, upon Information that the *Turkish Alcoran*
 was printing in *England*, it was ordered to be suppressed
 by the Commonwealth. In 1650, the *English* Mer-
 chants were commanded, by the Czar of *Muscovy*, to
 depart his Dominions, because their Countrymen had
 murdered their King. And, in the same Year, the
Quakers first appeared in *England*; having *George Fox* at their Head, whom they called their *Elder*; and
 their *Se^t* became very numerous, whose Application
 to Trade soon put them into the Possession of *Pensyl-
 vania*, one of the finest Provinces in *North America*. In
 1651, the Silver Coin, strictly speaking, was first milled
 in *England*; though it has been generally referred to
 1663, when hammered Money was no longer used, on
 Account of the pernicious Practice of Clipping.

ENGLAND, 'tis *Treason* now thy King to own!
 Thy *Nobles* cannot shake, nor guard thy *Throne*.

The *Ind. pendent Faktion* form the *State*;

'Till crush'd by *Cromwell's* Jealousy and Hate.

Ah, hapless Isle! *Britain* still weeps in vain:
 Her *Nobles* butcher'd, and her *Children* slain.
 That Loyalty, which *Heav'n* should best befriend,
 The *Field*, the *Scaffold*, or the *Gibbet* end.

Alike expire the *Noble* and the *Brave*,
 By *Tyrants*, who no Sense of *Mercy* have.

ILLUSTRIOUS Hamilton, with *Holland*, dies;
 And noble *Capel*, one great sacrifice!

Theis

Their Lives devoted to their Monarch's Cause :
Their Deaths, like his, vile Trespass on the Laws.
Ev'n Prelates die like Felons, while the Arms
Of *Cromwell*, fill *Hibernia* with Alarms.
Nor, great *Montrose* ! could'ft thou that Fate escape,
Tho' *Scotland* faw thee in fair Freedom's fairest Shape.

WHAT Blood was shed, what Havock was renew'd,
When *Ireland* was by *Cromwell's* Rage subdu'd ?
To *Scotland* then the Victor spreads his Course,
Swift as an Eagle in his rapid Force.
His vet'ran Legions, resolute in War,
Defeat the *Scotch*, and *Lesley*, at *Dunbar* :
In vain the *King* unites the *Scottish* Bands ;
In vain he leads them o'er the *English* Lands :
Cromwell pursues, till *Worcester's* fatal Day,
Charles, o'er thy Head, veil'd ev'ry royal Ray.
Miraculous ! 'twas *Heav'n's* all-righteous Wing
Preserv'd the Peasant, and *restor'd* the *King* !

Now is the Rage of *Civil Discord* o'er,
And *England* frowns her Brow on *Belgia's* Shore :
Claims to her *Flag* submission ; and her Fleet,
Nobly equip'd, stands out the *Dutch* to meet.
Such Fleets, such Seamen, ne'er were seen before :
In seven great Battles did their *Lions* roar :
But *England's* Genius then superior rose ;
And *Europe* trembled at her dreadful Blows.

Thus, while the *English* *Cross* rode o'er the Main,
With *Blake*, triumphant ; awing *France* and *Spain* ;
Ambitious Cromwell aw'd the motley Crew
Of *Barebone's Parliament*, who all withdrew,
By him dissolv'd : While he his Pow'r displays ;
And, as *PROTECTOR*, like a Monarch sways.

***The PROTECTORATE, or USURPATION
of OLIVER CROMWELL, from
1653, to 1658.***

THE principal Duty of History, according to *Tacitus*, is to erect a Tribunal, like that among the *Egyptians*, mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, where Men and Princes themselves were tried, and condemned or acquitted, after their Deaths; where those who had not been punished for their Crimes, and those who had not been honoured for their Virtues, received a just Retribution. Many principal Men in the *Roman Commonwealth* wrote Memorials of their own Actions, and their own Times; as *Sylla*, *Cæsar*, *Labienus*, *Pollio*, *Augustus*, and others; which served for the Foundations of those elegant Histories wrote by *Sallust*, *Livy*, and *Tacitus*. Thus, when the Monarchy of *England* was destroyed, and all Things thrown into Confusion, we find that *Æra* enlightened by the Memoirs of *Whitelock* and *Ludlow*, or the Collections of *Rushworth* and *Thurloe*, who were all Men of Eminence in the Republican State; for of the two former, one was at the Head of the Chancery-Court, and the other of the *Irish* Army; of the two latter, one was Secretary to Lord *Fairfax*, and the other to *Oliver Cromwell*: Besides, the great Earl of *Clarendon* honoured his Country with his noble History of the Rebellion, which throws a strong, steady, and permanent Light upon the Transactions of those Times. These afford an ample Fund of Matter, from whence to collect sufficient authentic Information of the Character and Conduct of *Oliver Cromwell*: But Writers of different Religions, Sects, and Parties should be carefully compared, that Conclusions may be fairly drawn from both.

OLIVER

OLIVER CROMWELL was a more fortunate Usurper than any that can be shewn among Antiquity, except *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*, who was there what *Cromwell* was in *England*: He was at the Head of the Army, had opprest the Nobility, and artfully obtained the supreme Power from the People: He defeated the *Carthaginians* at Sea; and died peaceably, leaving his Tyranny to his Son *Dionysius*, who was deprived of it by *Timoleon*, in the same Manner as *Richard*, the Son of *Oliver Cromwell*, was deprived of his Protectorate by *Fleetwood*. *Phalaris* brought *Agrigentum* from a popular Government to a Tyranny: But, after he had reigned thirty-one Years, he was stoned to Death, and his Citizens recovered their Liberty. *Agathocles* came from a Beggar to be a *Prætor*, and afterwards Tyrant, of *Syracuse*: But he died forsaken by all his Friends. *Marius* and *Sylla* were by turns dreadful in *Rome*, where the latter was made perpetual Dictator; but, after many great Exploits, resigned his Magistracy, and died in Retirement. *Cæsar* was prompted to Ambition, by seeing the Statue of *Alexander*, in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cadiz*; when he reflected, that he had done no memorable Action at the Age in which *Alexander* had made himself Master of almost the whole World: His Triumphate with *Pompey* and *Crassus* sunk the Authority of the Senate and the Patricians, which was the Original of the Civil Wars: But he served his Co-adjudors with as little Sincerity as *Cromwell* treated *Essex* and *Fairfax*: After which, he got himself appointed perpetual Dictator, wherein *Cromwell* followed his Example by getting himself declared Protector, which invested him with the same Power as *Cæsar* enjoyed in *Rome*: Both subverted the Liberties of their Country; but their Ends were not alike; for *Cæsar* was assassinated, which Danger was escaped by *Cromwell*. *Oktavius* was not very eager in taking the Government into his Hand: But *Mecænas* pushed him on; proving, by the Instances of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and others, that if he quitted the Government his Person was not safe: He pretended, like *Cromwell*, to lay aside all Manner of Authority,

Authority, only to make the Senators press him to continue it, and seemed at last, with great Difficulty, to comply with their Demands; by which Artifice he established himself in the Government. *Mecænas* convinced *Octavius* that the shapeless Form of a Democracy had been disgraceful to the Republic: As also that all their domestic Losses, and civil Wars, were owing to the over-grown Power of the People, which ambitious and turbulent Men had converted to their own Designs. *Cromwell* knew it was the same Case in *England*; and imitated the Example set by *Augustus* in *Rome*.

CROMWELL, being thus advanced to the Power of a Monarch, proceeded in the Exercise of his Government, with the greatest Vigour and Industry. He was now in the fifty-fifth Year of his Age; having acquired the Character of a brave Warrior, and a great Politician; though it is plain, he followed the Maxim of *Machiavel*, “To use the Force of a Lion, and the Craft of a Fox;” which the same Author indicates was the Conduit of *Cyrus*, to justify the mean Opinion, “That it is necessary to climb at Power by Treachery.” The Office of *PROTECTOR*, as conferred on *Cromwell*, was unknown before in *England*. In 1422, the Duke of *Bedford* was appointed *Protector of England*, by the Parliament, during the Minority of his Nephew *Henry the Sixth*. In 1483, the Duke of *Gloucester* was appointed *Protector of the Realm*, while his Nephew *Edward the Fifth*, and his Kingdom. And, in 1547, the Duke of *Somerset* was elected *Protector of the Realm*, while his Nephew *Edward the Sixth* was a Minor. But *Cromwell* gave the same Title to a superior Power; which he exercised to its utmost Extent.

WHEN *Richard the Second* was deposed, in 1399, by *Henry the Fourth*, the new King sent Ambassadors to all the Courts in *Europe* to give the most plausible Pretence for the Deposition of a Monarch, which was looked upon as a dangerous and odious Thing by all Princes: But the Kings of *France* and *Scotland* resented his violent Proceeding, and his whole Reign was divided between Wars and Conspiracies. However, *Cromwell*,

Cromwell, after publickly murdering his King, never attempted to justify his Conduct to foreign Courts.

WHILE *England* had its Government sapped to the A.D. very Foundation, *France* was plunged into very great ^{1654.} Calamities. Notwithstanding the fundamental Laws of *France* excluded all Women from the Crown; *Mary of Medicis*, Widow of *Henry the Fourth*, violently seized upon the Regency, by ordering the Parliament to be surrounded by her Guards, and obliging them to act according to her Inclination. *Anne of Austria* followed her Example, in 1643, when she annulled the Will of her deceased Husband *Lewis the Thirteenth*, by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*, that she might obtain an unlimitted Regency, during the Minority of her Son *Lewis the Fourteenth*. Cardinal *Richlieu*, who laid the Foundation of the *French* Glory, died in 1642, and the *French* Queen was obliged to prosecute the War against her Brother *Philip King of Spain*; which was carried on in *Flanders* with such Success to the *Spaniards*, that their old experienced General, *Don Francisco de Mello*, imagined they should take Possession of *Paris*, as they had done eight Years before: But the young Prince of *Conde* defeated the *Spaniards* at *Rocroi*, and diminished the Dread of the *Spanish* Arms, which till then seemed invincible. He took *Dunkirk* in 1646; and, in 1648, defeated the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* at *Lens*: After which, the *Spaniards* were deprived of many Places in the *Netherlands*. While the *French* were rising into Glory, the Queen-Regent was entirely governed by *Mazarin*, which renewed the Civil War between the Queen and the Parliament. *Mazarin* was in *France*, like what *Woolsey* had been in *England*; and the Civil War was called the *Fronde*; which gave Rise to the Distinctions of the two Parties in *France*, called *Petit-Maitres* and *Frondeurs*, in the same Manner as the Civil Wars had occasioned the Rise of Party-Distinctions in *England*. The young King of *France* was unable to assist the exiled King of *England*; being educated in Adversity, and obliged to wander from Province to Province in his own Dominions: While the Parliament,

A. D. 1654 ment, without his Consent, appointed the Prince of Conde Generalissimo of his Armies. But, in 1653, the Citizens of *Paris* invited the King to return to his Metropolis; when he found himself absolute Master of a Kingdom, which was disordered in every Part of the Administration: Though even then he was obliged to act with great Condescension to *Cromwell*.

THE *English* Government, at this Time, had not an Ambassador at any Court: But all Courts were full of *English* Residents, Agents, or Spies; and all the three Characters were frequently blended together: For *Cromwell* had a Maxim, “To spare no Expence upon foreign Services, or Intelligence.” The Treaty between *England* and *Holland* was still in Dependance; as *Mazarin* offered to stand by the *Dutch*, if they would either continue the War, or refuse to make Peace without *France* was included in the Treaty: But the *Dutch* had whole Fleets of rich Merchant-Men taken by the *English*, and were obliged to accept of such Terms as *Cromwell* prescribed. The Treaty of Peace was signed on the 5th of *April*, on Terms equally advantageous and glorious for *England*; the chief Articles being, “*That* the States-General should not permit the King, or any of his Party, or any Enemy of the Commonwealth of *England*, to reside within their Dominions. *That* they would never permit the Prince of *Orange* to be their Stadholder, Captain-General, or Admiral. *That* they should deliver up the Island of *Poleron* in the *East-Indies*, which they had taken from the *English* in the Reign of King *James*; and to pay 300,000*l.* for the old barbarous Violence committed upon the *English* at *Anboina*; for which the two last Kings could obtain no Satisfaction. *That* they should comply with the *Act* of Navigation; acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Sea to be in the Commonwealth of *England*; and no more to dispute the Honour of the Flag.” Thus ended a War which had been very warm on both Sides, and inexpressibly destructive to both Nations; for it is computed, that the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand* lost 1500 Ships, which fell into the Hands of the

the *English*. But this War, which had been undertaken A. D. to ruin *Cromwell*, served to advance him ; as it obliged 1654. him to dissolve the Parliament for his own Preservation. However, what the *Carthaginians* told the *Romans*, was afterwards practised by the *Dutch* towards the *English* ; for they thought the Treaty too hard to be complied with ; and regarded the Exclusion no longer than they were unable to break through their Engagements.

As the Protector discovered a surprizing Genius in the Management of Affairs, his Power and Policy were so much observed and reverenced, that all Nations contended which should render themselves most acceptable to him by their Ambassadors. *Denmark* had the Favour of being taken into the *Dutch* Treaty, upon the good Terms of making the States responsible for 140,000*l.* to repair the Damage which the *English* suffered from the *Danes*. About the same Time, *Cromwell* made an Alliance with *Sweden*, by the Negociation of his Ambassador *Whitelock*. He obliged *Portugal* to send an Ambassador to sollicit Peace ; with Offers to submit to make Satisfaction for the Offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the Payment of a great Sum of Money. He even brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to sue for his Alliance, with the same State and Ceremony as if he had been a sovereign Prince.

THOUGH the new Protector met with a general Submission, it was not without many Complaints of his usurping the supreme Power, by a pretended Title conferred on him by Men without Authority. He had three Parties in the Nation all against him ; the Royalists, the Presbyterians, and Republicans ; while he had only the Army to rely upon, to prevent the ill Effects of any Plots and Conspiracies. He frightened the Royalists, by telling them, Assassinations were such detestable Things, that he would never begin them : But, if any of the royal Party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating War of it, and destroy the whole Family. He satisfied the Presbyterians, by assuring them he would maintain

A. D. maintain a public Ministry ; and, by joining them in a ¹⁶⁵⁴ Commission with some Independents, to be Examiners of all public Preachers ; as also for disposing of all Churches in the Gift of the Crown, the Bishops, and Cathedral Churches. But the Republican Party were his greatest Enemies, and particularly the Levellers : While *Vane* and his Party, who were turned out of the Long Parliament, retired into the Country, where they declaimed against the Government. *Cromwell* therefore studied to divide this Republican Party among themselves, by setting the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, and other Enthusiasts, against those who proceeded only upon the Principles of civil Liberty ; such as *Algernon Sydney*, *Henry Nevil*, *Martin*, *Ludlow*, *Wildman* and *Harrington*. The *Fifth-Monarchy Men* seemed to be really in Expectation every Day when Christ should appear, and begin a glorious Reign of a thousand Years : They were headed by *John Goodwin*, who was for Liberty of all Sorts, and first brought in Arminianism among the Sectaries : So that it was no easy Thing for *Cromwell* to satisfy those, when he took the Power into his own Hands ; " as it looked like a Step to Kingship, says *Burnet*, which *Goodwin* had long represented as the great Antichrist, that hindered Christ's being set on his Throne :" Yet *Cromwell*, by Tears, Prayers, and other Acts of Dissimulation, managed these Republican Enthusiasts.

CROMWELL and *Charles* had put Prices upon the Heads of each other : So that neither was behind the other in Plots for Assassinations : But *Cromwell* had such excellent Intelligence, that he could let the Royalists play in the Net, and take them out at his Pleasure. A Plot was now discovered for assassinating *Cromwell* in his Way to *Hampton-Court*, and several Persons were apprehended on this Account ; particularly Mr. *John Gerard*, a young Gentleman of Family ; and one *Vorwel*, a Schoolmaster at *Islington* ; who were tried by a pretended Court of Justice, and condemned. *Gerard* had the Favour of being beheaded on *Tower-Hill* ; and *Vorwel* was hanged at *Charing-Cross* : But both

of

of them denied what they were accused of; and died A. D.
1654. with great Resolution.

AN Accident which happened about this Time, attracted the Observation of all the European Powers, and shewed them with what Spirit *Cromwell* intended to govern. The King of *Portugal* had sent the Count de *Penaguao*, as his Ambassador to *Cromwell*; and this Nobleman was accompanied by his Brother Don *Pantaleon Sa*, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Person so proud of his Quality, that he quarrelled with the same Mr. *Gerard* in the *New Exchange*. He ordered his Servants to his Assistance, and shot a Gentleman dead, who knew nothing of the Affront which he resented. The *Portuguese* took sanctuary in their Ambassador's House, and the Populace assembled there to seize the Murderers: But *Cromwell* sent a Guard to invest the House, and compelled the Ambassador to deliver up his Brother, who was condemned, and beheaded for the Murder, on the same Day, and on the same Scaffold, as *Gerard* was beheaded: But the *Portuguese* died with as much Terror and Dejection, as the *Englishman* had done with Courage and Resolution. This Proceeding, greatly increased the Opinion of the Protector's Justice, as well as his Power: And it is very remarkable, that, on the very Day of this Execution, the *Portuguese* Ambassador was obliged to sign the Articles of Peace between the two Nations; whereby *Cromwell* obliged the King of *Portugal* to exempt the *English* Subjects from the Inquisition, and to give them many Indulgencies in point of Commerce. Besides, this Action of *Cromwell*, twenty Years after his Death, was brought as a Precedent by the Emperor of *Germany*, to justify his arresting and carrying off the Prince of *Furstenburg*, at the Treaty of *Cologne*.

SOON after the Conclusion of the *Dutch* Peace, General *Monk* was sent again to take the Command of the Army in *Scotland*, where the *Highlanders* continued in Arms, under Colonel *Middleton*, who was defeated by Colonel *Morgan*, on the 19th of *July*; after which the Royalists made an inconsiderable Figure in *Scotland*.

IRELAND

A. D. *IRELAND* had been long unable to resist the Parliament Forces, and was exposed to the utmost Severity of the *English* Commanders, who justly retaliated upon the *Irish* Papists the Barbarity they had exercised upon the *English* Protestants. *Fleetwood* had married the Widow of *Ireton*, and was made Governor of the Kingdom, which was deserted by upwards of 100,000 Papists; and from that Time the Nation was kept so low, that there was no Appearance of its making any Resistance.

THE Protector had cemented his Power by the Blood of the King, and of many of the Nobility, with several other eminent Persons, either killed in the Field, or slaughtered on the Scaffold; and the Clouds which threatened him at first, were now dispersed. He omitted nothing for the Security of his Person, and the Establishment of his Government; being at Peace with all the Protestant Powers of *Europe*, and having his Friendship courted by the Catholic Princes; whilst he once more filled the Prisons of *England* with the unhappy Royalists, whose Persons were proscribed, and Estates sequestred, by the Decision of illiterate Committees. But though he was invested with such Authority, it was not confirmed by the People; which made it necessary to summon a Parliament, pursuant to *The Instrument of Government*. Writs were accordingly issued for assembling the Parliament on the 3d of *September*, which *Cromwell* held as a Day auspicious to himself; and, though it was *Sunday*, he would have the Parliament opened on that Day. The Parliament met, and adjourned to the next Day, when they assembled in the *Painted Chamber* in *Westminster*, and *Cromwell* made a long and artful Speech to them, in Vindication of his Government; telling them, "that though Peace was made, yet it was Interest that kept Peace; and farther than that, Peace was not to be trusted." He said, the great End of calling this Parliament was, that the Work of God might go on, that the Ships of the Commonwealth might be brought into a safe Harbour." He recommended to them, to have a *sweet, gracious, and holy Understanding*

ing one of another : Concluding, " that he spoke not A. D. " to them as one that would be Lord over them, but 1654. " as one that resolved to be a Fellow-servant with them " to the Interest of that great Affair." His Views were now directed to Royalty itself : But, as the People had the free Election of their Representatives, their Members were not so pliable to his Will as he expected ; which gave him great Uneasiness, especially as they began to question the Legality of *the Instrument of Government.* The first Debate they entered upon, was, " whether the supreme legislative Power of the Nation " should be in a single Person and a Parliament ? " Cromwell feared he should be divested of his Power, and ordered the Members to attend him in the *Painted Chamber*, on the 12th of Sept. when he upbraided them with their Proceedings, and told them " *That* the Government which made them a Parliament, made him Protector: *That* there " were some Things in the Government fundamental, " which could not be altered ; as that the Government " should be in one Person and a Parliament ; that Parliaments should not be made perpetual ; that the Militia should not be trusted in any one Hand or Power ; " but in both Protector and Parliament ; and that Bounds " ought to be set about a due Liberty of Conscience in " Matters of Religion, so as to prevent Persecution." He said, " he was sorry any of them should go about to " overthrow what was so settled, contrary to their Trust " received from the People : To prevent which, he was " necessitated to appoint a Test, or Recognition of the " Government, to be signed by them before they went " any more into the House ; whereby they were to engage, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and " Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland* ; and " should not propose, or give any Consent, to alter the " Government, as it was settled in one single Person, " and a Parliament."

ABOUT one Fourth of the Parliament absented themselves on Account of the Recognition ; and the Life of Cromwell was endangered by a Frolic. The Duke of Holstein had sent him a Present of six fine Coach-Horses, and Cromwell mounted the Box as Coachman,

A. D. in *Hyde Park*; when the Horses ran furiously away, 1654. and tossed him off the Box: His Foot was entangled in the Harness, which dragged him on the Ground, till his Shoe slipped off, and a Pistol went off which he had in his Pocket: But he was reserved by Providence as a Prodigy among Mankind! His Friends were for making the Protectorship hereditary: But *Cromwell* was so much afraid of the Parliament that he was determined to put an End to their Proceedings.

WHILE *Cromwell* was so much honoured by foreign States, the King was so greatly mortified in *France*, that he retired to *Cologne*, where he continued many Years: And *Burnet* asserts, that his Majesty was prevailed on, by the Cardinal *de Retz*, to embrace the *Popish Religion* before he left *France*: But others have assigned this Change of his Religion to the Year 1659.

A. D. *CROMWELL* had secured *Harrison*, *Overton*, and 1655. *Alured*, before he had put an End to this Parliament, which he dissolved, on the 22d of *January*, with a most tedious and intricate Speech; informing them, "he was not ignorant of their Projects; and that several were engaged in a Conspiracy against the Government:" Nor was it without Foundation that he mentioned a Conspiracy, which was now ready to open. The Presbyterians would have gladly restored the King, on the Terms granted by his Father in the *Treaty of Newport*, for the Limitation of the Royal Power, and the Establishment of the Presbyterian Government in the Church: But it was not likely that *Charles the Second*, while he was at Liberty, would grant the same Conditions as were accepted by *Charles the First*, under Confinement. The zealous Republicans were Enemies to *Cromwell*, without having any Friendship for the King: Yet the Royalists thought this was a proper Opportunity for a general Rising in his Favour: But this was their peculiar Weakness, in which they were frequently Mistaken.

A PROJECT was communicated to the King, for an Insurrection in the North, and another in the West; who approved of the Scheme, and appointed the 18th

of April for its Execution. His Majesty dispatched the A. D. necessary Commissions, and came privately into Zealand, to be ready to pass into England, if the Undertaking should be crowned with Success. But Thurloe was to Cromwell what Walsingham had been to Queen Elizabeth; and nothing was transacted by the Royalists, of which immediate Intelligence was not sent to Cromwell, who knew the whole Particulars of this Plot before the End of February. Lord Wilmot, lately created by the King Earl of Rochester, undertook to head the Rising in the North; and Sir Joseph Wagstaff was to conduct the Insurrection in the West; but both proved unfortunate, notwithstanding many Noblemen and Gentlemen had engaged to assist his Majesty. The Rendezvous for the Western Insurrection was appointed within two Miles of Salisbury, on the 11th of March, when the Judges were to hold the Assizes in that City; which Anticipation of Time, ruined the whole Design, as Wagstaff was never joined by many Gentlemen, who were in the Conspiracy. Colonel Penruddock, a Cornish Gentleman, of great Fortune and Interest, with Captain Hugh Grove, and some other Gentlemen, assembled 200 Horse, joined Wagstaff at the Place appointed, and entered Salisbury without Opposition. They feized the Judges, and the Sheriff; whom Wagstaff was for hanging up in the Market-place, with their Commissions about their Necks; which was opposed by Penruddock, and the other Country Gentlemen; who found that the Inhabitants were afraid to join them after the King was proclaimed; and this obliged the Insurgents to take the Western Route, where their Number increased to 400 Horse. Captain Unton Crook pursued them at the Head of a Troop of Horse, and came up with them, on the 15th of March, at South-Moulton in Devonshire, when their Number was reduced to about 100, who had laid down their Arms, and most of them were taken Prisoners; among whom were Colonel Penruddock, and Captain Grove; but Wagstaff, Mason, and Mompeson, narrowly escaped abroad. Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter; when they shewed themselves Men of intrepidity.

A. D. ~~1655.~~ trepid Courage, and amazing Fortitude : Others were hanged at *Salisbury* and *Exeter* ; and many were transported to the *West Indies*.

THE Insurrection in the North vanished before it was put into Execution ; and the Attempt of Sir *Thomas Harris* in *Shropshire* was laid aside : Upon which, the Earl of *Rochester*, with great Difficulty, went over to the King at *Treves*, who returned to *Cologne*, where he ordered *Manning*, one of his Domestics, to be shot for holding a Correspondence with *Thurloe*.

CROMWELL had Intelligence soon enough to have quelled the late Commotions before they began, if he had not thought of reaping an Advantage from the Fines and Forfeitures of the Conspirators. The Prisons were filled with Royalists, among whom were the Lords *Lindsay*, *Willoughby of Parham*, *Newport*, *Falkland*, *Camden*, and *Lovelace* ; with Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, Sir *Fredrick Cornwallis*, Sir *John Burlacey*, and other eminent Gentlemen whom *Cromwell* suspected. The Lawyers prevailed on the Juries to believe that an Insurrection against the Protector, was the same Thing as a Rebellion against a lawful Sovereign : While *Cromwell*, with the Advice of his Council, made an Order to levy the tenth Part of the Royalists Estates, to support the Charge of such extraordinary Forces as he was obliged to keep up, on account of their turbulent and seditious Practices.

THE Protector had been very attentive to the Navy, and had equipped two large Fleets ; which amused all *Europe* with Conjectures concerning their Destination ; while *Cromwell* pretended, "he fitted out his Fleet to guard the Seas, and restore *England* to its Dominion on that Element." His greatest Difficulty in foreign Affairs was whether he should make an Alliance with *France* or *Spain* ; both of which he kept in Suspence, equally flattering them with Hopes of his Friendship ; though he intended to amuse *Spain*, and enter into a Treaty with *France* ; which was very impolitic, as it gave *France* an Opportunity of humbling the House of *Austria*, and destroying the Ballance of Power. The *Spaniard*

Spanish Ministry dreaded the Recentment of Cromwell A. D. 1655. for the Murder of *Aschan* at Madrid, and offered to assist him in the Recovery of *Calais* from the French. This was an advantageous Offer, of which Cardinal *Mazarine* was apprized, and tempted Cromwell more by proposing to assist him in the taking of *Dunkirk* from the Spaniards. *Dunkirk* was now a Place of more Importance than *Calais*; and Cromwell was afraid the French would pour an Army of *Huguenots* into *England*, if he refused their Friendship. The Spaniards could give no Assistance to the King, as they had no Protestant Subjects; and could only serve him with Money; which Cromwell thought of preventing, by depriving them of some of their richest Settlements in *America*. He was the more inclined to a Breach with *Spain*, by the Advice of one *Gage*, a Priest, who had been long in *America*, and gave him such a Relation of the Weakness, as well as of the Riches, of the Spaniards in those Parts, that he concluded their Dominions would be an easy and important Conquest: By which he hoped to supply himself with such a Treasure, that his Government would be established, without depending on a Parliament for Money. Besides, as the Spaniards would never admit of a Peace with *England*, between the Tropics, he was in a State of War with them, as to *America*, before he declared War against them in *Europe*: Therefore, as Peace was concluded with the *Dutch*, and negotiating with the French, Cromwell came to the secret Resolution of attacking the Spaniards; and two Fleets were accordingly fitted out; the one under the Command of *Blake*, to chastise the Insolence of the *Barbary* Pirates, who frequently committed Depredations on the English Ships in the *Mediterranean*: And the other was put under the Command of *Pen*, and *Venables*, for the *American* Expedition.

THE Fleet under *Pen* consisted of Thirty Ships of War, with a great Number of Transports, and about 5000 Land Forces on board, who were to be joined by other Forces to be raised in the Plantations. The Admiral was assisted by Vice-Admiral *Godson*, and Rear Admiral *Blagg*; but the Land Forces were under the sepe-

A. D. late Command of *Venables*, who acted as General ; and, 1655. as is too commonly the Case, was far from having a right Understanding with the Admiral. The Fleet sailed from *Portsmouth*, on the 27th of *December*, 1655, and arrived at *Barbadoes* on the 28th of *January* following ; where the Admiral and General opened their Commissions, by which they were ordered to proceed to *Hispaniola*, and take Possession of *St. Domingo*, the Capital of that Island. The Land Forces were increased to 10,000 Men ; and the Fleet arrived, on the 12th of *April*, off *Hispaniola* ; when *Venables* was for running directly into the Harbour of *St. Domingo* ; but was opposed by the Commissioners whom *Cromwell* had sent as Spies over the Conduct of the Commanders ; which ruined the Expedition. At the Approach of the *English* Fleet, the *Spaniards* abandoned *St. Domingo* : "But recovered from their Fright, and returned to the Town, while *Venables* was landing his Men at a great Distance, and was easily repulsed, after making a fatiguing March through the Woods, with the Loss of General *Haines*, and above 600 Men. This Defeat obliged *Venables* to re-embark his Troops ; and it was then resolved to make an Attempt upon the Island of *Jamaica*, where they landed on the 4th of *May*, and seized the whole Island with little Opposition ; though great Dissentions happened between the Commanders, the Soldiers and Sailors. *Pen* and *Venables* returned to *England*, leaving *Fortescue* and *Godson*, to take care of *Jamaica*, which made ample Amends for the Loss sustained in *Hispaniola* ; and *Cromwell* took such Care in sending Troops and Colonists to his new Conquest, that it soon became a rich and flourishing Colony ; which has ever since been considered by the *English*, as a Seat of Commerce, and a Source of Wealth ; being the best Government in all the *West Indies*, and inferior to none under the *British* Dominion, except *Ireland*. Both *Pen* and *Venables* were committed to the Tower as soon as they arrived in *England* ; from whence they were soon released, but never afterwards employed by *Cromwell*, who laid the Miscarriage at *Hispaniola* on them, for neglecting

glected his Instructions ; though he was satisfied that *A. D.*
Jamaica was the more valuable Acquisition. 1655.

WHILE *Pen* was distressing the *Spaniards* in *America*, *Blake* had Orders to assist them in *Europe*. He obliged the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* to pay 60,000*l.* for Damages sustained in his Territories by the *English*: And compelled the Dey of *Algiers* to enter into a Treaty of Peace with *England*. The *Tunisines* despised his Power : But he burnt nine of their Ships of War in *Porto Farino* ; and obliged them to submit to his Terms. Yet he was so much of a *Roman*, that, after he had humbled the Insolence of all the *Barbary* States, he sollicited *Cromwell* for Pardon, as if he had exceeded his Instructions.

THE Descent upon *Hispaniola* convinced the *Spaniards* that *Cromwell* was resolved to make War upon them ; and his Catholic Majesty sent an Ambassador to *England*, to know upon what Terms Peace might be obtained. *Cromwell* insisted, that the King of *Spain* should allow the *English* “ a free Trade in all his *American* Dominions ; and abolish the Inquisition : ” Upon which the *Spaniards* seized all the *English* Effects in their Country, and Hostilities were openly commenced. *Spain* declared War against *England*, and *Blake* was ordered to watch the Return of the *Spanish* Plate Fleet : Whereby the *English* lost the *Spanish* Trade, which was transferred to the *Dutch*, and enabled them to repair their Losses sustained in the late War.

THE War with *Spain* was soon followed by a Peace with *France*, which was proclaimed at *London* on the 23d of *October* ; whereby the *French* King obliged himself, not to permit King *Charles*, his Brothers, or any of his Relations or Adherents, excepting the Queen-Mother, to remain in any Part of his Dominions. *Mazarine* was almost as much an Usurper in *France*, at this Time, as *Cromwell* was in *England* : But acted more impolitic, by suffering the Justice, the Commerce, the Marine, and even the Finances of *France*, to languish and decay : While he not only acknowledged the Title of *Cromwell* as Protector of *England* ; but obliged the

A. D. 1655. Stewart Princes to quit the *French* Dominions : Though, as the ingenious *Voltaire* observes, *France* owed them an Asylum, because they were the Grandsons of *Henry the Fourth*.

CHRISTIANA, Queen of *Sweden*, who admired the Abilities of *Cromwell*, despised Royalty, and resigned her Crown to her Nephew *Charles Gustavus* : But, after *Sweden* had the Honour of preserving the Liberties of the *Germanic* Body, and establishing the Protestant Religion in the Empire, this Princess retired to *Rome*, and embraced the *Romish* Faith. Her Successor also courted the Alliance of *Cromwell*, who sent Mr. *Robert Rolt* as Envoy to the Court of *Stockholm*, where the King shewed him greater Civilities than he did to any other Minister ; and, to please *Cromwell*, prevented his Brother, the Prince *Adolphus*, from marrying the young Princess *Sophia*, Daughter to the King of *Bohemia*, and Cousin-German to the King of *England* ; who afterwards married the Elector of *Hanover*, and in whose Right the House of *Brunswick* ascended the Throne of *Great-Britain*.

IT is remarkable, that few Princes ever bore their Character higher, upon all Occasions, than *Oliver Cromwell*, especially in his Treaties with sovereign Princes. And it is a Thing without Example, that *Cromwell*, in this League with *France* against *Spain*, would not allow *Louis the Fourteenth* to call himself King of *France*, but of the *French* : Whereas he took to himself not only the Protector of *England*, but likewise of *France*. This is mentioned in the Life of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, written by *Puffendorff*, who was one of the best informed Historians of the Age ; and who also says, what is still more surprising, that in this Treaty the Protector had his Name put before that of the *French* King. However, this Treaty was the worst Step that *Cromwell* ever made, with Respect to the Tranquility of *Europe* : For, as *Ludlow* observes, “ this Confederacy was dearly purchased on the Part of *England*, because it destroyed the Ballance of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ; and a Foundation laid for the future Greatness of the *French*,

French, to the unspeakable Prejudice of all *Europe* in A. D. general, and of the *English* Nation in particular, whose ^{1655.} Interest it had been hitherto accounted to maintain that Equality as near as might be." To which may be added, what Lord *Bolingbroke* says, "That *Charles* the First was no great Politician, and yet he seemed to discern that the Ballance of Power was turning in Favour of *France*, some Years before the Treaties of *Westphalia*: That he refused to be neuter, and threatened to take Part with *Spain*, if the *French* pursued the Design of besieging *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*, according to a Concert taken between them and the *Dutch*, and in Pursuance of a Treaty for dividing the *Spanish* Low-Countries, which *Richeieu* had negociated." The same Author also remarks, that *Cromwell* either did not discern this Turn of the Ballance of Power, long afterwards when it was much more visible; or, discerning it, he was induced, by Reasons of private Interest, to act against the general Interest of *Europe*. *Cromwell* joined with *France* against *Spain*; and, though he got *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk*, he drove the *Spaniards* into a Necessity of making a Peace with *France*, that has disturbed the Peace of the World almost fourscore Years, and the Consequences of which have well-nigh beggared in our Times, the Nation he enslaved in his.

THE Protector proceeded in an arbitrary Manner against those who contested his Authority: But one *Cony*, like another *Hampden*, refused to pay an extraordinary Tax; and reminded *Cromwell*, how great an Enemy he had expressed himself to such Grievances; and how he had declared, "That all who submitted to pay illegal Taxes, were greater Enemies to their Country than they who imposed them; and that the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the Tameness and Stupidity of the People." *Cromwell* committed *Cony* to Prison, who brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the *King's-Bench*, then called the *Upper-Bench*; where *Maynard*, *Twisden*, and *Windham*, being of Council for him, demanded his Liberty, both upon the Illegality of the Commitment, and of the Imposition: For

A. D. which they were committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*,
1655. who severely reprimanded the Judges for suffering the
 Liberty the Council had taken. The Judges humbly
 alledged the Law, and *Magna Charta*: But *Cromwell*
 told them, " Their *Magna Charta* should not controul his
 Actions." He turned off some of the Judges for not
 making the Law subservient to his Will; and took the
 Great Seal from *Whitelock*, *Widdrington*, and *Lenthal*,
 for not complying with his Pleasure in the Court of
 Chancery: After which, he gave the Custody of the
 Seal to Colonel *Fiennes* and Major *Lisle*: But made the
 ejected Commissioners Lords of the Treasury. He en-
 tirely took away the Liberty of the Press; yet could
 not make the People forget they were once governed
 by Laws: So that, notwithstanding his specious Pre-
 tenices to the contrary, *Cromwell* invaded and betrayed
 the Liberties of his Country, and acted a more tyran-
 nical and arbitrary Part than all the Kings of *England*
 together had done since the *Norman Conquest*.

As every Royalist was to pay the tenth Part of his
 Estate, Commissioners were appointed for the Valua-
 tion of such Estates, who acted in a very arbitrary Man-
 ner all over the Kingdom; which occasioned great
 Murmurs and Dissentions. *Cromwell* perceived his
 System of Government was defective, and attempted
 to remedy it, by dividing *England* and *Wales* into thir-
 teen Districts, or. Cantons, which were to be governed
 by so many Officers, called *Major-Generals*, in the Na-
 ture of Prefects or Governors of Provinces; who were
 to have the Government of the inferior Commissioners
 in every County, and were invested with almost abso-
 lute Power, which they exercised with all the Tyranny
 of *Ottoman Bashaws* over the unhappy Royalists, and
 at last obliged *Cromwell* to reduce their Power within
 much narrower Bounds.

A. D. *CROMWELL* obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to cease
1656. his Persecution of the Protestants in the *Vaudois*; and
 protected the *Huguenots* at *Nismes* from the Resent-
 ment of the *French Monarch*: While *Lockhart* was daily
 improving the Interest of *Cromwell* with *Mazarine*, and
 prevailing

prevailing upon him to act in Concert against the ^{A. D.} *Spaniards.* ^{1656.}

A LARGE Fleet set sail from *Portsmouth*, in *February*, commanded by *Blake* and *Montague*, who were ordered to block up the Port of *Cadiz*, and intercept the Plate-Fleet, which was then returning to *Spain*. The *English* Admirals continued several Weeks on their Station: But were obliged to sail to *Wyers-Bay*, in *Portugal*, for Supplies; leaving Captain *Stayner*, with seven Ships, before *Cadiz*. On the 17th of *September*, *Stayner* perceived the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet, consisting of eight large Ships, which he immediately attacked, and in a few Hours spoiled the whole Fleet. The *English* took two Ships, run two ashore, sunk one, and burnt another, in which the Marquis of *Bajadox*, Viceroy of *Mexico*, with his Lady and eldest Daughter, perished in the Flames. The Captors brought the two Ships they had taken to *Portsmouth*, where they landed the Bullion, to the Value of upwards of two Millions of Piafres, or 358,333 *l.* Sterling; which was conveyed in Carts to *London*, as a Trophy of War: While *Blake* still continued in the *Mediterranean*, to distress the Navigation of the *Spaniards*.

THE Protector, being now in the Meridian of his Glory, resolved to call a Parliament, in Hopes of obtaining the Title of King, and restoring the ancient Constitution. Writs were issued throughout the three Nations for Election of Members: But *Cromwell* exerted his utmost Endeavours to have only such Persons chosen as were well-affected to his Government; and his Council were to make themselves Judges of their Qualifications, who arbitrarily disqualified about 100 Members that were fairly returned. The new Parliament met on the 17th of *September*, and chose Sir *Thomas Widdrington* for their Speaker. The excluded Members complained to the House, that the Soldiers had prevented them from taking their Seats: Upon which, the sitting Members passed a Vote that rendered the Parliament no better than an Appendix to the Council of State: Whil. the excluded Members ap-

A. D. pealed to the People against the Violence of the ^{1656.} **P**rotector, and the Illegality of the Parliament. The House disannulled the Title of *Charles Stewart*; and approved of the War against *Spain*, for which they granted Supplies. They passed some Bills for the Peace of the Public, and the Security of the Protector: As also others for the Advancement of Trade.

A. D. *CROMWELL* aspired to the Regal Dignity, which ^{1657.} met with the greatest Oppofition from his principal Friends, particularly *Desborough* his Brother-in-Law, and *Fleetwood* his Son-in-Law; who imagined this Acceſſion of Power would exasperate the People, and bring on his Ruin. The Protector became more popular than ever; shewing much Condescension to the Presbyterians, great Respect to the Nobility, and more Favour to the Royalists. He was jealous of the Power of the Major-Generals, who had so violently oppressed the People, that another Form of Government seemed absolutely necessary; and, after *Jephson* had roundly proposed, in the House, that *Cromwell* might be declared King, a *New Instrument of Government* was drawn up, which was presented to the House, on the 23d of February, by *Alderman Pack*, one of the Members for the City of London.

THIS INSTRUMENT was the Occasion of many Debates, which, on the 25th of March, ended in a Vote, "that his Highness would be pleased to *assume* the Name and Dignity of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland." A Committee was appointed to wait upon *Cromwell* with a Remonstrance, intitled, "The humble Petition and Advice of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes, now assembled in Parliament of this Commonwealth." Many Conferences were held on this Subject; in which *Cromwell* seems to have copied the Conduct of *Queen Elizabeth*, when the Parliament addressed her to put the Queen of *Scotland* to Death. *Whitelock*, *Lord Broghil*, *Lenthal*, and the Rest of the Committee, strongly represented to *Cromwell* the Necessity of his assuming the Title of King: Which threw him into the utmost Distraction, as he knew not what to determine. His

Ambition

Ambition prompted him to accept the offered Crown : A. D. But the Disposition of his Relations, and principal Friends, made him tremble. The Republicans said, " that if a King was necessary, they would have the true Heir to the Crown ;" and some of them even threatened to kill *Cromwell* the Moment he accepted the Regal Dignity : Besides, a Petition against his accepting the Kingship was carried on by Colonel *Pride* among the Officers, and presented to the Parliament by Colonel *Mason*.

THE Protector, therefore, ordered the Parliament to attend him, on the 8th of *May*, in the *Banqueting-House*, where he delivered a very artful Speech ; and concluded, " That he could not undertake the Government with the Title of a King." This Declaration was very prudential ; as it was dangerous to hazard all the Power of a King, only for the Title : But many People were amazed at this Refusal ; especially as a Crown was actually made, and brought to *White-ball*.

SUCH Moderation was to be rewarded by the Parliament, who confirmed his Dignity of Protector, with more Power than was annexed to it by the Council of Officers. This was done by a new Instrument, called *The humble Petition and Advice*, which consisted of eighteen Articles ; whereby he had Power to nominate his Successor ; and to appoint a House of Peers, not to exceed seventy in Number, nor to be under forty, and twenty-one to be a Quorum. He was solemnly and magnificently inaugurated into this high Office, on the 26th of *June*, in *Westminster-Hall* ; where the Speaker invested him with a Robe of Purple Velvet lined with Ermines, delivered a Sceptre of Gold into his Hands, girt on his Sword, made a Speech to him, and gave him the Oath of Government : Whereby he swore, " to maintain the true reformed Protestant Religion ; and to endeavour the Maintenance and Preservation of the Peace and Safety, and just Rights and Privileges of the People ; and govern according to Law." After which,

A. D. he went to the House, passed some Bills, and put an ~~1657~~ End to the Parliament.

As *Cromwell* had attached himself to the House of *Bourbon*, in Opposition to the House of *Austria*, he confirmed the Treaty of Peace, by a League offensive and defensive against *Spain*, which was concluded at *Paris* on the 13th of *March*; whereby it was agreed, that *Cromwell* should join 6000 Men with the *French* Army to act against the *Spanish Netherlands*: That *Mardike* and *Dunkirk* should be besieged; and, when taken, delivered to the *English*. Accordingly, 6000 new-raised Men were sent over to *France*, about the beginning of *June*, under the Command of Sir *John Reynolds*, Commissary-General of the Horse in *Ireland*; who assisted Marshal *Turenne* in the Reduction of *St. Venant* and *Mardike*. The *English* were put in Possession of the latter Place: But *Reynolds* was suspected of treating with the Royalists, and was recalled to *England*. He was drowned in his Passage; and *Lockhart* had the chief Command of the *English* Forces in *France*, with which he wanted to lay Seige to *Dunkirk*, while the *French* knew it was their Interest to postpone that Undertaking.

THE Emperor of *Germany* was dead; and *Cromwell* has been suspected of aspiring to the Imperial Dignity, by his Interest with *Sweden* and *France*: But the Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark* obliged him to relinquish this unaccountable Project, in which he was privately opposed by *Mazarine*. In the mean Time, the King of *England* entered into an Alliance with *Spain*, and retired to *Bruges*; where he prevailed on four *English*, *Scotch*, and *Irish* Regiments to desert from the *French*: While *Mazarine* signified to the Duke of *York*, and the *English* Royalists, that they must withdraw out of the Dominions of *France*.

WHILE *Cromwell* rendered himself formidable at Home, *Blake* was endeavouring to advance the Fame of *England* abroad. This great Admiral was in wait for the Return of another *Spanish* Plate-Fleet, which he was determined to intercept, if they were even taken under

under the Protection of *De Ruyter*, and convoyed under A. D. Dutch Colours. *Blake* had Intelligence that the *Spaniſh* ^{1657.} Fleet was failed to the *Canaries*, and had put into the Bay of *Sancta Cruz*, in the Island of *Teneriffe*, till the *Engliſh* Fleet should depart from *Cadiz*: Upon which, he failed to *Sancta Cruz*, and arrived there on the 20th of *April*. The *Spaniſh* Fleet was commanded by *Don Diego Diagues*; consisting of six *Galeons*, richly laden, and ten other *Ships* of lesser Burden, which were moored to the Land, and well defended by *Forts* and *Batteries*. *Blake* knew they had carried their rich Effects on Shore: Yet was determined to destroy their *Ships*; which he most amazingly effected, to the infinite Loss of the *Spaniards*; though the *Engliſh* had only forty-eight Men killed, and 120 wounded. The Admiral received a Jewel of 500*l.* Value from *Cromwell*, for this Service: But he died of a Fever, on the 17th of *August*, in the 59th Year of his Age, as the Fleet was entering *Plymouth-Sound*; and his Body was interred in *Westminster-Abbey*, with great funeral Pomp, at the public Expence; for the Death of this gallant Man could not be too much honoured, as his Life was a continued Scene of Glory to his Country.

THE Protector assumed the Dignity, though he re- A. D. fused the Title of King; having his Yeomen of the ^{1658.} Guard, Lord-Chamberlain, Master of the Horse, and other Officers of State. He also seemed to aim at the Security of his Family, by marrying his Daughters to Persons of Distinction; and rendering his Sons amiable to the People: While he dismissed *Lambert* and some others, whom he had Cause to distrust, from their Employments; for he had great Reason to be apprehensive of Conspiracies from the disappointed Sectarists. He had created several Lords, and made a great Number of Knights; out of which he projected to give his new House of Lords all the Weight and Splendor of an *Engliſh* House of Peers.

THE Parliament met, on the 20th of *January*, consisting of two Houses, pursuant to the second Article of *The humble Petition and Advice*. *Cromwell* would not venture

A. D. venture to call his intended House of Peers by that
1653. Name : But called it the *Other House*, which was composed of fifty-eight Members, among whom were the Earls of *Mulgrave, Warwick, Manchester, and Cazzis* ; the Lords *Say and Seale, Falconbridge, Howard, Wharton, Ewers, Lisle, and Brogbil*. The Protector opened this Parliament with all the State of the ancient Monarchs : But the ancient Nobility refused to sit in the Upper-House ; because some of the Members were of very mean Extraction. The Commons received their excluded Members ; by which Means the Enemies of *Cromwell* had a Majority in the House, who were so refractory to all his Measures, that he sent for them to the Upper-House, on the 4th of *February*, when he told them, “ he would have been glad to have lived under his Woodside, to have kept a Flock of Sheep, rather than undertook such a Government as this was : That there were not constituted hereditary Lords, nor hereditary Kings : That there were Designs upon the Army to make them play the King of *Scotland's* Game, who had an Army ready to invade *England* ; and that some in the House were preparing to assist him : ” For which Reasons, he dissolved them in a very bold and peremptory Manner.

IT was not without Reason that *Cromwell* spoke of a Conspiracy forming in *England* in Favour of the King. Pamphlets were published against the Protector, particularly one, intitled “ *Killing no Murder* ; ” which gave him great Inquietude, as his Person grew every Day more detestable to the People, and as he was sullenly served by his best Friends : So that he was supported only by the Army, filled with Fanatics and Enthusiasts, who imagined the Time was come to erect a Fifth-Monarchy, or the Reign of Jesus Christ upon Earth.

THE King was encouraged to believe the Royalists were ripe for an Insurrection, and assembled some Forces on the Coast of *Flanders* to make a Descent in *England*. The Marquis of *Ormond* came to *London* to concert Measures with the principal Conspirators ; who were, *Mr. John Mordaunt*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough* ;

Sir

Sir *Henry Slingby*, a rich and popular Gentleman in the A. D. County of *York*; and Dr. *Hewet*, a Minister of the ^{1658.} Church of *England*. But *Cromwell* had such a Multiplicity of Spies, that he discovered the whole Conspiracy, before it was put in Execution. The principal Conspirators, and many others all over the Kingdom, were suddenly seized and imprisoned. *A High Court of Justice* was erected for the Trial of the Criminals; where several Persons were condemned; and, on the 8th of *June*, Sir *Henry Slingby*, and Dr. *Hewet*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*: Though Mrs. *Claypole*, the Protector's favourite Daughter, used all her Interest with her Father to save the Doctor's Life; which Denial gave her so much Affliction, that it was reported to hasten her Death, and her Loss to hasten the Death of the Protector. Three other Persons were hanged, and quartered: But *Cromwell* pardoned the rest, that he might not multiply the Number of his Enemies.

CROMWELL was not contented with the Possession of *Mardike*, which the *Spaniards*, assisted by the Duke of *York* with 2000 *English* and *Irish*, had unsuccessfully attempted to retake. This might have satisfied his Glory; but *Cromwell* was not to be pleased, till he got Possession of *Dunkirk*, which the *French* were as unwilling to put into his Hands. However, the Genius of *Cromwell* had the Ascendancy over the Artifices of *Mazarine*, whose Politics he despised and derided. At last, the important Siege of *Dunkirk* was undertaken, on the 3d of *June*, by *Marshal Turenne* and *Lockhart* by Land; while the *English* Fleet, commanded by *Godson*, blocked it up by Sea: *Don John*, the Governor of the *Netherlands*, came to raise the Siege, with the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *York*, who brought a considerable Body of *English* into the *Spanish* Service. *Marshal Turenne*, and *Lockhart*, resolved to fight the Enemy; and, after an obstinate Battle, defeated them at *Dunes*: After which, *Dunkirk* surrendered on the 26th of *June*, and was given up to the *English* by the *French* King, pursuant to his Treaty with *Cromwell*, who placed a strong Garrison in it, and made *Lockhart* the Governor.

Thus

A. D. ~~1658.~~ *THUS Cromwell* re-established the *English* on the Continent ; and put them in a Condition to make themselves Masters of both Sides of the Channel, which had been despaired of since the Loss of *Calais*, in 1558. The Count *d'Estrades*, the French Governor of *Dunkirk*, before it fell into the Hands of the Spaniards, in a Letter to *Mazarine*, dated the 5th of *February*, 1652, informed him, that *Cromwell* had offered to give him two Millions ; as also, to furnish fifty Men of War, and 15000 Soldiers to act against *Spain*, and all the Enemies of *France*, if *Dunkirk* was put into his Hands. But, in 1662, King *Charles the Second* very impolitickly sold this important Place to the *French*, for only five Millions of *Livres*.

LORD Falconbridge was sent on an extraordinary Embassy to the Court of *France*, where he was treated with as much Magnificence as if he had been a Sovereign Prince : And soon after the Duke of *Crequi* was sent by the *French* Monarch, with a splendid Retinue, Ambassador to *England*. But this was no more than a Matter of Form, by way of Compliment between *Cromwell* and *Lewis the Fourteenth*.

CROMWELL was apprehensive of a Conspiracy, formed by some of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, to overthrow him and his Government ; but he discovered and apprehended the Conspirators, among whom were *Venner*, *Gray*, *Gowlet*, *Hopkins*, *Ashton*, and others, who were imprisoned in the *Gate-House* at *Westminster* ; their Lives being spared at this Time, to create Disturbance, and their own Destruction, after the Restoration.

THE Protector spent immense Sums of Money in maintaining his Spies, which reduced him to such Necessity, that he intended to call another Parliament in *October*, with a View of obtaining Money to answer his Expenses ; but Death put an End to all his future Schemes. He was so much afraid of being assassinated, that he constantly wore a heavy Coat of Mail under his wearing Apparel ; and found himself, like *Dionysius*, no better than a splendid Wretch surrounded with Misfortunes.

tunes. He had lost his favourite Daughter and most A. D. intimate Friends; which induced him to have Recourse ^{1658.} to intemperate Drinking with some of his inferior Officers. He grew so suspicious of Danger, that he was at last very difficult of Access: And Bishop *Burnet* says, "It was generally believed, that his Life, and all his Arts, were exhausted at once; and that, if he had lived much longer, he could not have held Things together." He was seized with the Gout in his Foot, which shifted into his Body; and, on the 24th of *August*, he was afflicted with a tertian Ague. He was removed from *Hampton-Court* to *White-Hall*, where he grew delirious, and expired, on the 3d of *September*, when there happened one of the most violent Storms of Wind that ever had been known. His Body was privately removed from *White-Hall* to *Somerset-House*, where it lay in State, 'till the 23d of *November*, when it was most solemnly and magnificently carried to *Westminster-Abbey*, and interred in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, among the Bodies of the Kings and Queens of *England*: But in 1660 the Body of *Cromwell* was taken out of the Grave, and buried under *Tyburn*. However, some say, that his Body was only deposited in *Westminster-Abbey* as to outward Appearance; being, in Reality, carried below Bridge in a Leaden Coffin, and thrown into the *Thames*: While others affirm, it was buried in *Naseby-Field*, pursuant to his own Order.

THUS the famous *Oliver Cromwell*, after performing so many great Actions, and being exposed to so many Perils, Plots, and Conspiracies, died quietly in his Bed, in the sixtieth Year of his Age; five Years, four Months, and fourteen Days, after the Dissolution of the Long Parliament; four Years, eight Months, and eighteen Days, after he had been declared Protector by the *Instrument of Government*; and but one Year, three Months, and nine Days, after his being confirmed in that Office by the *Humble Petition and Advice*.

DOCTOR *Welwood* says, "It is observable, that as the Ides of *March* were equally fortunate and fatal to *Julius Cæsar*, another famous Invader of the Liberties of

A. D. of his Country ; so was the third of September to Oliver ^{1658.} Cromwell ; for on that Day he was born ; on that Day he fought the three great Battles of Marston-Moor, Worcester, and Dunbar ; and on that Day he died." But the Doctor was mistaken in two Instances : For Cromwell was born at Huntingdon on the 25th of April 1599 ; and the Battle of Marston-Moor was fought on the 2d of July 1644 : Though it should be observed, he opened his first Parliament on the 3d of September, notwithstanding it was the *Lord's-Day*.

OLIVER CROMWELL was somewhat corpulent ; with a strong and manly Aspect ; having an active healthful Constitution, able to endure the greatest Toil and Fatigue, which enabled him to encounter so many Difficulties.

IT being as natural a Curiosity to know the Character of a fortunate Usurper, as of a lawful King ; it may be proper to say something more of the Character of Oliver Cromwell ; who was certainly a great Man ; and Posterity might have paid a just Homage to his Memory, if he had not embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Prince, or had not usurped upon the Liberties of his Country.

THE Name of the Family from whence the Protector was descended, was not originally *Cromwell*, but *Williams*. *Morgan Williams*, Son and Heir of *William*, of a very ancient Family in *Wales*, married a Sister of the famous *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, who was made Earl of *Essex*, and Vicar-General, in the Reign of *Henry the Eighth*. By her he had a Son named *Richard*, who was Knighted by King *Henry*, and took the Name of his Uncle *Cromwell* ; though he kept the Arms of *Williams*. Sir *Richard Cromwell* married *Frances*, Daughter and Co-heiress of Sir *Thomas Mervyn* ; and, upon the Dissolution of the Monasteries, obtained most of those Lands in *Huntingdonshire* ; which was the first Occasion of this Family settling in that County. He had a Son named *Henry*, who was Knighted by Queen *Elizabeth*, and married *Joan* Daughter of Sir *Ralph Warren* ; upon which he made his chief Seat on the Ruins of a House

of Nuns at *Hinchbrook*. He had Sir *Oliver*, and five other Sons; the second of which was Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, who married the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*, and was the Father of the Protector.

THUS it appears, that *Oliver Cromwell* was a Gentleman by Birth: But, though he was bred up for some Time at the University of *Cambridge*, he was little of a Scholar. When the Civil Wars broke out he joined the Parliament, and acted as Captain of Horse. He was forty-two Years of Age before he appeared as a Soldier; nor is it known how he spent his Time before he was thirty-five; though it is reported he followed the Business of a Brewer. He signalized himself so much by his Intrepidity, and his Reputation increased to such a Degree, that he soon became Major General, then Lieutenant-General under *Fairfax*, and at last his Successor. He was Master of an extraordinary Genius, and of the most refined Policy; having a great Spirit, a surprizing Sagacity, and a most magnanimous Resolution. Lord *Clarendon* says, "He must have had a wonderful Understanding in the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a Dexterity in applying them, who, from a private and obscure Birth, though of a good Family, without Interest or Estate, Alliance or Friendship, could raise himself to such a Height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory Tempers, Humours, and Interests; into a Consistence that contributed to his Designs, and to their own Destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the Instant that they projected to demolish their own Building." To view him in his Government after he was Protector, and compare it with those of the two last Kings, there will appear a very great Disparity, with Regard to the Glory and Reputation of the English Nation. *James the First*, and *Charles the First*, seemed to have studied how to disgrace the English Name: Whereas *Cromwell*, in the Space of four or five Years, carried the Glory of his Nation as far as possible,

possible, and in that Respect he was not inferior to Queen *Elizabeth*; being equally dreaded by *France*, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*; as also by the States of *Italy* and *Barbary*; while his Friendship was solicited by the rest of the principal Powers of *Europe*.

HE was certainly ambitious to a very high Degree, which made him guilty of many Acts of Cruelty, and disregardful of the *Constitution*: But his Enemies allow, that he performed many great and laudable Things to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation. *Coke* acknowledges, “ *That*, by *Blake*, he more humbled and subdued the *Algerine*, *Tripoli*, and *Tunis* Pirates, than ever any before or since did: *That* *Westminster-Hall* was never replenished with more learned and upright Judges than by him; nor was Justice, either in Law or Equity, in civil Cases, more equally distributed, where he was not a Party: *That* he outvied the best of our Kings, in rendering our Laws to the Subject in the *English* Tongue: For though *Edward the First* permitted Pleading in the *English* Tongue, yet he went no farther: Whereas *Cromwell* rendered not only the Pleadings, but Practice, and Laws themselves, into *English*. ” The same Author observes, “ *That* though he played the Fool in making War with *Spain*, and Peace with *France*; yet he made a more advantageous Treaty of Commerce for the *English* with *France*, than before they had: And *that*, though he joined his Forces with the *French* against the *Spaniards*, yet he reserved the Sea-Towns, conquered from the *Spaniards*, to himself; thereby to be Arbitrator over the *French*, as well as *Spaniards*, when he pleased. ” This Alliance with *France* against *Spain* was the most impolitic Step he ever took in foreign Affairs: But Sir *William Temple* endeavours to mitigate the Censures past upon him on that Account, by saying, “ *That*, when the *French* made such a Progress in *Flanders*, *Cromwell* soon perceived the Ballance turned, and was grown too heavy on the *French* Side: Whereupon, he dispatched a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there a Change of his Treaty with *France*, into one with *Spain*; by which

he would draw his Forces over into their Service, and make them 10,000, to be continually recruited, upon Condition their first Action should be to besiege *Calais*, and, when taken, to put it into his Hands. *That the Person sent upon this Errand, was passed the Pyrenees, when he was overtaken by the News of Cromwell's Death: Whereupon, Mazarine having not only lost his strongest Support in Flanders; but observed, how his Design would never be served by any Measures he could take with England, however it should be governed, resolved upon a Peace with Spain, and made it at the Pyrenees.*" Lord Bolingbroke blames *Cromwell* for obliging the *Spaniards* to throw themselves into the Arms of *France*: * But seems to be of the same Opinion with Sir William Temple: For his Lordship says, "There is a Tradition, I have heard it from Persons who lived in those Days, and I believe it came from *Thurloe*, that *Cromwell* was in Treaty with *Spain*, and ready to turn his Arms against *France* when he died. If this Fact was certain, continues his Lordship, as little as I honour his Memory, I should have some Regret that he died so soon. But, whatever his Intentions were, we must charge the *Pyrenean Treaty*, and the fatal Consequences of it, in a great Measure, to his Account. The *Spaniards* abhorred the Thought of marrying their Infanta to *Lewis* the Fourteenth. It was on this Point that they broke the *Negociation* *Lionne* had begun: And if they resumed it afterwards, and offered the Marriage they had before rejected, *Cromwell's* League with *France* was a principal Inducement to this Alteration of their Resolutions." However, his maintaining the Honour of the Nation in all foreign Parts, gratified the Temper which is very natural to the *English*: And his Attempt upon *St. Domingo* was the only Action of War in which he failed.

As for his private Qualities: Though *Cromwell* was brave in his Person, yet he was wary in his Conduct; for, from the Time he was first declared Protector, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Cloaths. His

Conversation

See p. 367. of this Volume.

Conversation among his Friends was very diverting and familiar; but reserved and grave in Public. He was sparing in his Diet; though sometimes he would drink freely. He was moderate in all other Pleasures; and free from the Appearance of Immoralities, especially after he came to make a Figure in the World. He generally affected a Plainness in his Cloaths: But in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendants, he appeared with Magnificence upon public Occasions. No Man was ever better served, nor took more Pains to be so. As he was strict and severe to his Enemies, so was he kind and beneficent to his Friends. If he came to hear of a Man fit for his Propose, though never so obscure, he sent for him, and employed him; *suiting the Employment to the Person, and not the Person to the Employment*: Upon which Maxim in his Government his Success, in a great Measure, depended. He loved Men of Wit; and was such an admirer of Music, as to entertain the most skillful of that Science in his Pay and Family: Besides, he respected all Persons that excelled in any Art; and would procure them to be sent or brought to him. Though he was imperfect even in the *Latin Language*, he was very well read in the *Greek and Roman Histories*: But he studied Men more than Books in his Government; so that his Turn was served in all Offices. He had such an absolute Command over all his Passions, that he could suit his Carriage to all Companies and Occasions. He cov'd be severe in his Wit, and droll in his Resentment. For, having wrote a Letter to General Monk in *Scotland* relating to the Government, he subjoined this Postscript, which indeed was the Occasion of the Letter: "There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning Fellow in *Scotland*, called *George Monk*, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce *Charles Stewart*; I pray use your Diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me." The Actions of *Monk* soon after justified the Suspicion of *Cromwell*.

THESE were the Virtues and shining Qualities of *Cromwell*: But he has been charged with Vices and Imper-

Imperfections ; by seizing a Government to which he had no Right ; by maintaining his Authority with an excessive Dissimulation ; and by putting many of his private Enemies to Death, without any Regard to the Laws of *England*. The Question is, Whether it was not better for *Cromwell* to assume the Government, than relinquish the State to a fatal Anarchy, when it would have been impossible for him to have effected the Restoration of the King, if he had been inclined to have acted with so much Virtue, Loyalty, and Moderation ? The Confusion which prevailed in *England*, soon after the Death of *Cromwell*, clearly shews the Necessity of this Usurpation : And, as to the two other Charges, they are brought against him by his known Enemies, the Republicans and Royalists, both of whom he greatly disgusted by usurping the sovereign Power ; while he offended the Presbyterians by dissolving the Long Parliament. However, he can never be excused for the Death of King *Charles* the First, to which he contributed as far as he was able, and which will be an indelible Blot upon his Memory. “ In a Word, says Lord *Clarendon*, as he was guilty of many Crimes, against which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-Fire is prepared ; so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated ; and he will be looked upon, by Posterity, as a brave wicked Man.”

OLIVER CROMWELL was married to *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*, by whom he had three Sons ; *Oliver*, *Richard*, and *Henry*. The first died young : *Richard* succeeded his Father in the Protectorship : And *Henry* was Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*.—The Protector *Oliver* had also four Daughters : *Bridget*, who was first married to Lieutenant-General *Ireton*, and afterwards to Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood* : *Elizabeth*, married to *John Claypole* of *Northamptonshire*, Esq; Master of the Horse to *Oliver* ; but this favourite Daughter died a little before her Father : *Mary*, married to *Thomas* Lord *Viscount Falconbridge* ; afterwards created Earl by King *William* : And *Frances*, who was first married

to the Honourable *Robert Rich*, Esq; Grandson and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; and afterwards to Sir *John Russel* of *Chippenden*. They were all Ladies of great Accomplishments; and all of them Friends to the unhappy Royalists.

IN 1655, *Cromwell* introduced the *Jews* again into *England*, 370 Years after they had been expelled by *Edward the First*, and gave them Liberty to build a Synagogue; for which they paid him a Consideration of 200,000*l.* The same Year, a Committee of Trade was appointed, for the Improvement and Regulation of the Trade and Navigation of the Commonwealth; which was an Establishment of such Importance that it was continued in the succeeding Reigns. In 1656, one *Nayler*, a frantic Enthusiast, was convicted by the Parliament of Blasphemy, and of personating Jesus Christ; for which he was punished with great Severity. In 1658, a large Whale came up the *Thames* as far as *Greenwich*. And the Crown Pieces coined that Year by the Protector were the first milled Money that had an Inscription upon the Rim; which was so inimitably performed, that those Pieces have been preserved as choice Medals in the Cabinets of the Curious.

ASPIRING *Cromwell* gave the Nation Law;
And kept the *Belgic Lion* still in Awe:
Then, on the *Spaniards*, are his Thunders hurl'd;
And *England's Fleet*, rules the *Columbian World*.

Jamaica falls, to *Pen*, an easy Prey;
No more to own the cruel *Spaniard's Sway*:
Their *Flota*, too, destroy'd by glorious *Blake*,
Fills them with Terror of another *Drake*.

While haughty *Tunis*, and the rude *Corsairs*,
Tremble on *Afric's Shore*, when *Blake* appears.

ENGLAND, impolitickly, join'd with *France*,
To humble *Spain*, and *Gallic Pride* advance.

Dunkirk was conquer'd; *Cromwell* held the Town;
Envious that *France* should keep it for her own:
And, *England's Charles* had far more nobly reign'd,
If he had never sold, what *Cromwell* gain'd.

SCOTLAND,

SCOTLAND, by *Monk*, is in Subjection held :
And *Ireland's* Papists are, by *Fleetwood*, quell'd.
While *England* vainly Insurrections tries ;
And brave *Penruddock*, for his Monarch, dies.
The bold *Usurper* dares to rule alone,
Without a *Parliament*, without a *Crown* :
In thirteen Districts, cantons out the Realm ;
Each with a Petty-Tyrant at its Helm.

HE, who had brav'd the War's severest Rage ;
And 'scap'd the Dangers of a bloody Age ;
Finds all his Pow'r too impotent, to save
A *Tyrant*, when *Death* summons to the Grave.

THUS, some fierce Comet glitters in the Skies,
Tremendous, 'till its baleful Splendor dies.
Perdition on thy Head ! See, blushing, *Fame*,
Led on by *Truth*, disowns her *Cromwell's* Name.



RICHARD CROMWELL, the Second PROTECTOR, from 1658, to 1659.

OLIVER CROMWELL, like *Dionysius* the Elder of Syracuse, died in the peaceable Possession of the sovereign Power; though disguised under another Name; and left it to a Son who had neither Heart nor Abilities to keep it. *Richard Cromwell* lost his Power like the younger *Dionysius*; and what *Timoleon* of Corinth was to the second Tyrant of Syracuse, General *Monk* was to the second Protector of England. *Philip* of Macedon asked the expelled *Dionysius*, when he was reduced to be a Schoolmaster in Corinth, "Why he did not keep up the Power which his Father left him?" *Dionysius* answered, "That his Father indeed left him his Government, but not his Fortune." And it is remarkable, that the Prince of *Conti* put much the same Question to the expelled *Richard Cromwell*, when he secreted himself in *France*; who might have made the same Answer.

OLIVER CROMWELL, like *Henry* the Second,* should have had such a Successor as himself, to finish what he had so ably begun: But two such great Men are not commonly found so near one another, nor often in the same Age. For, neartwo Yearstogether after his Death, the Government of *England* underwent various Shapes: till, in the End, all these Convulsions co-operated to turn the Nation again upon its true and ancient Basis. The Genius of the Kingdom returned to its natural Bias: For Monarchy was so much interwoven with the Laws, Customs, and the first Threads of the *English* Constitution,

* See Vol. I. p. 227.

tion, that it was altogether impossible it could be ever A. D. eradicated. 1659.

THE late Protector, by the Instrument called, *The Humble Petition and Advice*, was impowered to nominate his Successor in the Government: But it is not quite certain that he made Use of such Authority, nor who he intended for the Succession. Some think, his Intention was, that his Son *Henry* should succeed him; because he had more Abilities than his Brother, and had acted with great Spirit and Prudence in *Ireland*, Others are of Opinion, that the Protector appointed his Son-in Law *Fleetwood* for his Successor; as he had the greatest Influence among the Army: But that the Will was burnt by *Lady Falconbridge*, before it was seen by *Fleetwood*. However, an Hour after the Death of *Oliver*, his Son *Richard* was declared by the Privy-Council for his Successor in the Protectorate. *Fleetwood* relinquished his Right; and the next Day *Richard* was proclaimed Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; in the following remarkable Form of Words: “Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, in his Providence, to take out of this World, the most serene and renowned *Oliver*, late Lord Protector of this Commonwealth: *And his Highness having in his Life-Time, according to The humble Petition and Advice, DECLARED and APPOINTED the most noble and illustrious the Lord RICHARD, eldest Son of his said late Highness, to SUCCEED him in the Government of these Nations: We, therefore, of the Privy-Council; together with the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of London; the Officers of the Army; and Numbers of other principal Gentlemen, do now hereby, with one full Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and declare the said noble, illustrious Lord *Richard*, to be rightfully Protector of this Commonwealth; to whom we acknowledge all Fidelity and constant Obedience, according to Law, and the said *Humble Petition and Advice*.” The same Proclamation was made in all the principal Towns of the three Kingdoms; and Addresses of Congratulation were presented to *Richard* from all Parts, signed*

A. D. by many Thousands, with Assurances, that they would
¹⁶⁵⁹ hazard their Lives and Fortunes in his Support. There
 were ninety Addresses from Counties, Cities, and Bo-
 roughs: And the like Compliment was paid by all the
 Regiments, without Exception: But Experience has
 shewn, that Sincerity does not always accompany such
 Addresses.

AFTER the voluntary Resignation of *Fleetwood* his
 Brother-in-Law, of *Desborough* his Uncle, and all the
 Officers of the Army, as well Republicans as Presby-
 terians, the new Protector seemed to have nothing to
 fear from *England*: While his Brother *Henry*, who was
 Lord-Lieutenant in *Ireland*; General *Monk*, who com-
 manded in *Scotland*; and *Lockhart*, Governor of *Dun-
 kirk*, warmly declared for his Government. This
 Unanimity in *England* occasioned the foreign Princes
 and States, in all their Addresses to *Richard*, to treat
 him with the same Respect as they had done his Fa-
 ther.

THE new Protector had led a private Life, during the
 greatest Part of his Father's Government: But, towards
 the latter End of it, he was sent for to Court, made
 one of the Privy-Council, and chosen Chancellor of the
 University of *Oxford*. *Burnet* says, "The Sons of *Oliver Cromwell* were weak, but honest Men." This may
 be true of *Richard*: But not of *Henry*, who was a Man
 of good Parts. Some Writers also say, that *Richard*
 was a Man of good plain Sense; but without Resolu-
 tion; and that he lost his Authority by his Pusillani-
 mity. The above-mentioned Prelate goes further into
 the Character of *Richard*, by asserting, "that he was
 not at all bred for Business; nor indeed capable of it. He
 also acknowledges, that *Richard* was innocent of all the
 Ill his Father had done: So there was no Prejudice
 lay against him: And both the Royalists and Presby-
 terians fancied he favoured them, though he pretended
 to be an Independent. But all the Commonwealth-
 Party cried out upon his assuming the Protectorship, as
 a high Usurpation; since whatever his Father had from
 his Parliaments was only Personal, and so fell with him."

WHEN

WHEN the new Protector was installed into his Dignity, he made no Change in the Council; nor any Alterations in other Employments: But was willing to have his Dignity confirmed by Parliament, and summoned one to meet the 27th of January. General Monk advised the Protector to call the most eminent Presbyterian Divines to preach before him at Whitehall; and to consult about calling a Parliament with Sir George Booth, and some others, who were Gentlemen of great Property, and known to be no Friends either of Independency or arbitrary Power: He recommended a large Reform in the Army; and desired Richard to take into his Council, for the Execution of what he recommended, Whitelock, St. John, Lord Broghil, Onslow, Pierpoint, and Secretary Thurloe. But Fleetwood and Desborough assembled a Council of inferior Officers, to consider of the best Means for defeating the Advice of Monk.

THE Officers of the Army were then divided into three Parties: The First, or Commonwealth-Party, consisted of Aylett, Lilburn, Fitz, Mason, Mass, Farty, Exred, and others: The Second, called the Wallingford-House Party, or Army-Party, who had set up Richard Cromwell in Expectation of governing as they pleased, were Fleetwood, Desborough, Sydenham, Clark, Kelsey, Berry, Haines, Blackwell, and others: And the Third, or Protectorial-Party, were Falconbridge, Ingoldsby, Gough, Whalley, Howard, Goodrick, Keins, and others. But General Monk, Lord Broghil, and Admiral Montague, with some other leading Persons, who might have been contented to hold the Reins of Government under Richard, found he was unequal to the Task, and threw their Eyes upon Charles their exiled Monarch; giving Intimations of a Willingness to serve him, rather than see their Country again subjected to the Tyranny of the Heads of the Republican and Anabaptist Parties.

THE late Protector had preserved himself amidst the Rage of Parties; which it was not in his Power to extinguish; and, on his Death, it began to revive. The Republicans were in wait for an Occasion to displace

A. D. the new Protector, and restore the Commonwealth to 1659. the State it was in till the Year 1653, when Oliver dissolved the Parliament. The Anabaptists were now of the Republican Party, because they saw it was impossible to establish their Fifth-Monarchy under a Protector. There was also another set of Republicans, who were governed only by political Views, and were accused of being properly Deists. As for the Presbyterians, who were very numerous in *England* and *Ireland*, besides the *Scotch*, who were almost all of this Sect, they had not altered their Principles, since their Expulsion from the Parliament in 1648: But would gladly have admitted the King with a limited Power, and the firm Establishment of Presbyterian Government in the Church. And the Royalists would give Ear to no Limitation upon the Regal Power: Being also averse to Presbytery for the Church Government; and were forming just Hopes, that the different Parties into which their Enemies were divided, would be serviceable to the King, and procure his Restoration, without limitting his Authority: Or, at least, they imagined, that the Presbyterians would be obliged to unite with them, to free themselves from the Servitude of the Independents and Republicans.

RICHARD proposed to begin his Protectorate with following the Maxims of his Father; particularly in making himself Master of the Deliberations of his Council, and of reducing the Army to receive his Orders with Submission: But he was an *Hylas* in Government, and found the Club of *Hercules* too heavy for his Strength: Or, like *Phaeton*, he had ascended the Seat of his Father, and was rashly driving the Chariot to his own Destruction; which, managed by a skilful Hand, gave Glory to the World. *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, with some other Officers, were determined to deprive the Protector of the Command of the Army; and insinuated to him, that the Parliament, which was going to sit, might prove dangerous to his Authority: That it was necessary to shew them he was Master of the Army, and to fortify himself with a Body of the Officers.

Richard

Richard fell into the Snare, and ordered every Regiment ^{A. D. 1659.} to send to London as many Officers as could be spared: Upon which, a great Number of Officers appeared, formed themselves into a Body, and assumed the Title of *The Great Council of the Nation*: But, as this Council was composed of many inferior Officers, they were directed in their Deliberations by some Members of the Privy-Council, and superior Officers, who acted as a *private Council*.

THE Parliament assembled on the 27th of January, after great Struggles among the Representatives, many of whom were Republicans, and *Chaloner Chute* was chosen Speaker of the Lower-House, which began to re-examine the Authority of the Other-House; as also to debate by what Right the *Scotch* and *Irish* sent Representatives to the *English* Parliament. These Debates continued till the 28th of March, when it was resolved, that the Other-House should subsist; and that the *Scotch* and *Irish* Representatives continue to sit in the House of Commons. They inspected the public Accounts, when it appeared, that the whole annual Income of *England* was 1,517,274*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* and that the annual Issues and Expences were 30,513*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. more: That the annual Income of *Scotland* was 143,652*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* and that the annual Issues and Expences were 163,619*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. more: That the annual Income of *Ireland* was 207,790*l.* and that the annual Issues and Expences were 138,690*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* more: So that the annual Income of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was 1,868,717*l.* 9*s.* the annual Issues and Expences of the three Kingdoms were 2,201,540*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* and the whole Deficiency was 332,823*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* Besides this great annual Deficiency, there was a Debt of 1,747,584*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* due by the Public to the Army, the Navy, and private Persons: Which, with the growing Debts, made the whole Debt of the Public, at the End of the Year, amount to 2,474,290*l.* 0*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. But the Taxes were low; and *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk* were gained by this Expence; the former of which has well returned the Purchase-Money; and *Charles the*

A. D. Second received near 250,000*l.* for the Sale of the
1659. latter ; after which, the National Debt began gradually to increase, till it arrived to such an immense Load as to threaten the Nation with a Bankruptcy.

THE Parliament made an Act to recognize *Richard Cromwell*, for Protector of the three Kingdoms ; while *the great Council of Officers*, and *the private Council*, continued their Conferences and Deliberations, at the Houses of *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* ; till it was agreed to present a Petition to the Protector, desiring *Fleetwood* for their General. This Petition was presented on the 6th of *April* ; when *Richard* refused to give his Consent, and ordered the Officers to dissolve their Council : but they obliged him to dissolve the Parliament, on the 22d of *April*, by Proclamation. From that Time, he was despised by the Army, disregarded by the Parliament, and neglected by the People ; being only looked upon as a private Person : While *the Great Council of Officers* thought themselves empowered to settle the Government as they pleased ; which occasioned a short Anarchy, 'till they elected *Fleetwood* for their General.

ON this Revolution, *the Great Council of Officers* discharged *Falconbridge*, *Ingoldsby*, *Gough*, *Whaley*, and *Howard* from their Regiments ; because they advised *Richard* to adhere to the Parliament. At the same Time, they restored *Lambert*, and others, who had been dismissed by *Oliver Cromwell* : After which, they considered of settling the Government, as it was impossible for Things to continue long in their present Situation.

FLEETWOOD was a great *Enthusiast*, and very well imitated the Part which his Father-in-law had acted ; whereby he rendered himself the Idol of the Army, and was esteemed as a fit Person to be the Successor of *Cromwell*. *Lambert* saw the Inclination of the Army, and suspected the Ambition of *Fleetwood* ; both of which he was determined to prevent ; because his own Ambition was immoderate, and his Views as extended as those of *Oliver* : Therefore, he secretly engaged *Lilburn* to make a Party among the inferior Officers ; while *Lambert* himself made all the external Appearances of Friend-

Friendship and Attachment to *Fleetwood*; endeavouring ^{A. D.} ~~1659.~~ by his Flatteries to prevail upon him in the same Manner as *Oliver Cromwell* had formerly influenced *Fairfax*, which he hoped would put him in the same Way of obtaining the Government.

FLEETWOOD, as General, was met by the superior Officers at *Wallingford-House*, to settle the Government: But, by the Intrigues of *Lambert* and *Lilburn*, the inferior Officers assembled at *St. James's* in much greater Numbers; when they magnified the Happiness which *England* enjoyed under the Administration of the Parliament, from the 6th of *December*, 1648, to the Time of its Dissolution, on the 20th of *April*, 1653. The Officers and Soldiers, in general, were Independents, Anabaptists, Enthusiasts, and Republicans, as they had been in 1653: Therefore, the superior concurred with the inferior Officers in restoring the *Long Parliament*, which *Oliver* had dissolved.

THE Officers being thus united, declared for *the good old Cause*; such as was supported by the Parliament, brought the King to the Block, and turned the Monarchy into a Commonwealth. *Lambert*, at the Head of a considerable Number of Officers, presented the Declaration of the Great Council of Officers to *Lenthall*, Speaker of the Long Parliament; whereby the Members of that Parliament, dissolved by *Cromwell* in 1653, were invited to return to the Exercise of their Authority. This Declaration was communicated to the Members, and the Invitation accepted by them: Upon which, they met in Parliament, on the 7th of *May*, to the Number of only 42, who went in a Body to the House, and were guarded by *Lambert* with Soldiers. They immediately passed a Declaration touching their Magistracy, and their Purpose to secure the Property and Liberty of the People, without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers; and to uphold Magistracy and Ministry. The Presbyterian Members, who had been expelled in 1648, would have resumed their Seats; but none were admitted besides those who had sat from the 1st of *January*, 1648, to the 20th of *April*, 1653; because it was not the Inter-

A. D. terest of the Officers to suffer the Presbyterians to get a
1659. Majority in the House. Thus the three Nations were under the tyrannical Dominion of a Parliament: But with this Difference, that the Number was reduced to the Half it was in 1648, when the Presbyterian Members were excluded: For which Reason, they were called in Derision, *the Rump Parliament*, in Allusion to a Fowl all devoured but the Rump.

ON the 12th of May, a Petition and Address from *the General Council of Officers*, were presented to the *Rump Parliament*, by *Lambert*, attended by some Officers, containing fifteen Articles, in which they demanded, "That the Government should be a free State, and Commonwealth, without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers: That there should be an Act of Oblivion to indemnify all Persons concerned in the Alteration of Government since the 19th of April 1653: That the Public Debts contracted since that Time should be paid: That all Persons should be tolerated in the Exercise of their Religion; so that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy: That such Persons as have adhered to the *Stewart Family* since the 20th of May 1642, or have not given good Satisfaction of their Affection to *this Cause*, may be removed out of all Places of Trust or Power in the Magistracy: That the Parliament should not sit too long: That the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* should be Commander in Chief of the Army: That the *Legislative Power* should be in a *Representative of the People*, consisting of a House, successively chosen by the People, as the Parliament should appoint, and of a select Senate, co-ordinate in Power, of Persons eminent for Godliness, and adhering to *this Cause*: That the *Executive Power* may be in a *Council of State*: And that all Debts contracted by his late Highness, or his Father, since the 15th of December, 1653, may be satisfied; and that 10,000*l.* a Year, with a convenient House, may be settled upon him and his Heirs for ever; and 10,000*l.* a Year more upon him during Life; and upon his honourable Mother 8000*l.* a Year during her Life; to the End a Mark of the high Esteem this Nation hath of

of the good Service done by his Father may remain to ^{A. D.} _{1659.} Posterity."

THE Parliament approved of all the Articles in general, and sent a Committee to *Richard Cromwell*, requiring him to sign a formal Abdication of the Government. He now shewed himself the very Reverse of his Father, who was many Years in obtaining that Power, which his Son lost in an Hour: For, on the 25th of May, he resigned his Authority, and made his Submission to the Parliament, by an Instrument in Writing; declaring, "That he loved and valued the Peace of the Common-wealth much above his own Concernments: That however, in Respect of any particular Engagements that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a Change in the Government; yet he could freely acquiesce in its being made: And That he held himself obliged, as he expected Protection from the present Government, so to demean himself with all Peaceableness under it; and to procure, to the utmost of his Power, that all in whom he had any Interest did the same." He annexed a State of his Debts, both private and public; the latter of which, amounted to 30,000*l.* and the Parliament only granted 20,000*l.* Besides they refused to pay the Expences of his Father's Funeral, which amounted to 60,000*l.* So that *Richard* was obliged to pay that Debt out of his Inheritance, and thereby swept away almost all his Estate. His intended Revenue, and annual Pension, were referred to the farther Consideration of Parliament: But nothing was settled upon him. King *Edward* the Second was compelled by the Barons to resign his Crown to his Son *Edward* the Third; and King *Richard* the Second was also obliged to surrender his Crown to *Henry* the Fourth: But if the Protector, *Richard Cromwell*, had been possessed with one Spark of Ambition; he would not have tamely consented to this Demand, especially as the *Danish* Ambassador offered him all the Assistance of his Master, if he would declare for King *Charles*; and as there was still a considerable Party in the Army, who would have been glad of the Sanction of his Name to declare

A. D. declare against the Parliament. His Brother *Henry Cromwell* soon after followed his Example, by peaceably resigning his Authority in *Ireland*; though the *Rump Parliament* would have found it difficult to remove him, if he had been inclined to resist against *Richard*: And if he had been Protector instead of his Brother, the Officers would not have attempted what they undertook.

Thus ended the two Protectorates, and the Power of the *Cromwell Family*, which had existed about six Years, to the Terror of all *Europe*. When *Richard* quitted his Palace of *White-hall*, on the 3d of *May*, he ordered his Servants to be very careful of two old Trunks which stood in his Ward-robe: And when one of his Friends enquired what was in them, that made him so much concerned about them? "Why no less, said *Richard*, than the *Lives and Fortunes of all the good People of England*:" Meaning the great Number of Addresses that had been presented to him when he succeeded his Father. *Richard* retired into *France* soon after the Restoration, and continued some Years in Obscurity at *Paris*; from whence he removed to *Geneva*, upon the Rumour of a War between *France* and *England*. But, some Years before the Death of *Charles the Second*, he returned to *England*; and, having lived to a great Age, died at *Chebunt* in *Hertfordshire*, in the Year 1712; being a remarkable Example of the Security of Innocence, and the Instability of human Greatness.

*The State of Affairs from the End of the
PROTECTORSHIP in 1659, to the RE-
STORATION in 1660.*

UPON the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, every Thing A. D. at Home seemed to concur to the Restoration of 1659. the King : Yet the bare Name of an *English* Parliament, though only the Shadow of what it formerly was, continued to be so terrible abroad, that neither *France* nor *Spain* durst venture to give to King *Charles* the least Assistance to regain his Throne : But, on the contrary, were obliged to treat him in a manner altogether unworthy of a Prince. However, in this Time of Confusion, the Royalists began to exert themselves for the Restoration of their Sovereign, who resided at *Brussels* ; and, by a Declaration, in *March*, empowered Commissioners to treat in his Name with those, who having been against him or his Father, were unwilling to return to his Obedience. There could not be a better Opportunity for these Commissioners to increase the Number of the Royalists, as the Nation, in general, were soon weary of the Tyranny of an independent Parliament, consisting of forty Persons, and an Army of Fanatics, whose Officers had only their own Interest in view, under Colour of promoting Piety, and extending the Kingdom of *Christ*. The Presbyterians found it their Interest to join with the Royalists ; and their united Endeavours paved the Way for the Restoration.

THE *Rump* renewed the great Seal of the Commonwealth, appointed the Commissioners for it, and nominated Judges. They also named a Council of State, for the more immediate executive Power, consisting of Thirty-one Persons ; whereof Twenty-one were Members of Parliament, and ten were not. These twenty

A. D. one were *Whitelock*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Chaloner*, *Nevil*, *St. John*, *Scott*, *Reynolds*, *Wallop*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Major *Saloway*, Colonel *Morley*, *Algernoon Sidney*, *Walton Dixwell*, *Thompson*, *Sydenham*, *Jones*, *Downes*, and *Ludlow*. The Ten were, President *Bradshaw*, Lord *Fairfax*, Major General *Lambert*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Horatio Townshend*, Colonel *Desborough*, *Berry*, *Barnes*, *Johnson*, and *Honeywood*. *Fleetwood* was appointed Commander in chief of the Land Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, only for one Year: But the Parliament reserved the Power of signing Commissions; which disgusted the Army, who wanted *Fleetwood* to have the same Command as *Cromwell* had before he was Protector. They recalled *Henry Cromwell* from *Ireland*, and voted that the Government of that Kingdom should be by Commissioners appointed by Parliament. They would have done the same in *Scotland*, if they had not been afraid of *Monk*, who seemed to submit to their Authority, by presenting an Address in the Name of himself and his Officers: In which he was followed by Colonel *Lockhart*, Governor of *Dunkirk*.

THE Parliament strove to be Masters of the Army, and sent *Ludlow* to Command in *Ireland*: But *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and *Lambert*, resolved to maintain their Power in *England*; while *Monk* was equally determined to keep his Command in *Scotland*, where he was at the Head of 12,000 Men, who removed Anarchy, restored the Monarchy, and renewed the Happiness of the People. However, the Parliament displaced many Officers, and substituted others of more Fidelity: But, instead of preserving, this lost their Authority.

THE *Rump* chose a Committee of Safety; passed an Act for settling the Militia; and continued the Monthly Assessment passed in 1656; which irritated the Army, and displeased the People. The intended Insurrection, for which Sir *Henry Slingby* and Doctor *Heuet* suffered Death, had been interrupted, but never laid aside. The Royalists had formed themselves into Parties all over the Kingdom; and it was agreed that a general Rising

Rising should happen about the middle of *July*. General *Monk*, and all the Presbyterians, seemed to favour the King; while Admiral *Montague* was preparing the Fleet for a Revolution: And, for that Purpose, brought his Ships from the *Baltic*, where he had been sent to join the *Dutch* for the Preservation of the Ballance in the North, because *Oliver* had rose the Power of *Sweden* too much over the Crown of *Denmark*. But *Thurloe* continued to act like another *Walsingham*; and, by his Spies, once more defeated the Schemes of the Royalists.

THE Lord *Newport* was to hold *Shrewsbury*, for the King: Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, were to surprize *Chester*: Major General *Maffey* undertook to secure *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, and *Bristol*. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townshend*, were to seize *Lyme*. All the North and West were expected to declare for the King; and his Presence was only wanting to set Fire to the Train which would enlighten the whole Kingdom with its Blaze. His Majesty and the Duke of *York* had assembled about 2000 Forces in *Flanders*, and came to *Calais*, with an Intention of throwing themselves into *England*; in which they were again prevented, by the Spies of *Thurloe*, and particularly Sir *Richard Willis*, who still attended upon the King, only to betray his Proceedings.

OLIVER CROMWELL had parcelled out some of the Crown-Lands among his Veteran Officers, who began to inclose their Possessions; which gave great Offence to the Country People; particularly in the Forest of *Deane*, and about *Enfield Chase*; where the first Symptoms of the Insurrection appeared: The Earl of *Litchfield* assembled some Royalists at *Tunbridge*; but they were immediately dispersed by a Party of Horse, and many of their Officers taken Prisoners. *Maffey* was also made Prisoner as soon as he took up Arms: But fortunately made his Escape. Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Horatio Townshend*, were seized in the West. Major General *Brown* found his Design of raising Men in *London* was discovered and prevented. While the Gentlemen

A. D. of Essex and Hertfordshire met with the same Disappointment.
1659.

BUT all these Misfortunes could not discourage Sir *George Booth*, and the Gentlemen in *Cheshire*, who assembled about the Beginning of *August* on *Routon-Heath*, with about 4000 Men, and published a Manifesto ; declaring they took up Arms for a free Parliament, and against the Faction at *Westminster*. Among these Royalists were the Lord *Cholmondeley*, Lord *Kilmurry* and his Brother, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Colonel *Ireland*, Mr. *Staicerley*, Mr. *Warburton*, and many other Gentlemen ; who proceeded to *Warrington* in *Lancashire* ; where they were overtaken, and dispersed, by six Regiments, and a Body of Militia, commanded by *Lambert*.

On the 9th of *August*, the Heads of the Insurrection were declared Traitors by the Parliament, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen were sent Prisoners to *London* ; among whom were the Earls of *Oxford* and *Chesterfield* ; Lord *Viscount Falkland* : The Lords *Delawar*, *Bellasis*, *Chastleton*, and Lord *Charles Howard* ; with Sir *George Booth*, and others ; some of whom were sent to the *Tower*, and others confined in *Lambeth-House* ; the Arch-Episcopal Palace being used for a Prison. This prevented the Earls of *Derby* and *Litchfield* from appearing in Arms : As also Admiral *Montague* from immediately declaring for the King. The Royalists were proscribed, their Estates confiscated, and the Sequestrators hovered like Vultures over the best Possessions in *England* : But dark as the Cloud appeared, it was insensibly rolling away.

THE Parliament, on the Suppression of the Royalists, ventured to reform the Army in *Scotland* ; which made General *Monk* desirous of throwing up his Command : And the principal Officers in *England* held many Conferences to keep the Army independent of the *Rump* ; for which Purpose it was agreed, that *Lambert* should prevail upon his Officers to draw a Petition to the Parliament. Pursuant to this Resolution, when *Lambert* came to *Derby*, a Petition was prepared, and sent to the Parliament, desiring, " That the General-Council

of Officers might not be laid aside ; and that *Fleetwood* A. D. should be firmly established in the Command of the ^{1659.} Army ; with *Lambert* for his Lieutenant-General, *Defborough* for the Command of the Horse, and *Monk* of the Foot." The Parliament voted, that any more General Officers would be needless and dangerous. This only exasperated the Officers in *London*, who, on the 5th of *October*, presented another Petition, signed by 230 Persons, declaring, " their Attachment to the *good Old Cause*, and a well-regulated Commonwealth, by such a Settlement as may not be liable to every Change of Governors." Some of the Members warmly inveighed against the Insolence of the Officers : But they forgot the Language of the Army to the Presbyterian Parliament : And the Officers were given to understand, that the Parliament were neither obliged nor pleased to give them an Account of their Conduct.

THE *Rump* received Assurances of Assistance from General *Monk*, and deprived *Fleetwood* of his Commission ; displaced *Lambert*, *Defborough*, and some other principal Officers ; made it High-Treason to levy Money upon the People without Consent of Parliament ; and named Commissioners for the Government of the Army, from the 11th of *October*, to the 22d of *February*. But these Proceedings were unsupported by Power, and treated with Scorn.

LAMBERT marched his Brigade towards *London* ; and the Council of State ordered two Regiments, in whom they confided, to *Westminster*, to guard the Parliament. This was not sufficient to deter *Lambert*, who marched some Regiments into *Westminster* on the 13th of *October*, secured all the Avenues to the Parliament, and prevented the Members from entering the House, which was secured the next Day by *Fleetwood* ; and the Army was once more superior to the Parliament.

THE Officers at first nominated ten of their own Body to form a Council for the Management of Affairs : But, thirteen Days after the Dispersion of the Parliament, they established *A Committee of Safety*, instead of the Council of State, consisting of twenty-three Persons, and

A. D. and put the Government into their Hands: Those, 1659. who formed this Committee, were *Whitelock, Ludlow, Vane, Harrington, Johnson, Fleetwood, Lambert, Debrough, Sydenham, Salway, Berry, Laurence, Thomson, Hewson, Lilburn, Ireland, Tickburn, Strickland, Holland, Steel, Clerk, Bennet, and Brandith.* *Fleetwood* was appointed General, *Lambert* Lieutenant-General, and *Debrough* Commissary-General of the Horse: But the Officers declared they had no Design to erect a military Government; and their Soldiers observed the strictest Discipline in this State of *Anarchy*. They had neglected to bring *Monk* into their Agreement, and soon became sensible of their Error: For, instead of joining their *Usurpation*, he was determined to restore the King.

KING *Charles*, after having in vain sought a Sanctuary in *France*, was necessitated to throw himself upon the Friendship of *Spain*. He was apprized, that the Conferences were begun between Cardinal *Mazarine* and *Lewis de Haro*, the two Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain*, for the Conclusion of a general Peace; and the King went to the Place of Treaty, that he might in Person represent his Interest to these two Ministers. The Plenipotentiaries met in the Isle of *Pheasants*, upon the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain*, where they continued their Conferences four Months; when a Peace was concluded about the End of the Year; whereby it was agreed, "That the *French* Monarch should marry the eldest Infanta, who was to renounce all her Right to the Dominions of her Father *Philip the Fourth*; the *Spanish* Towns were to be delivered up; *Lorrain* restored to its Prince; and the great *Conde* received into Favour."

THE *English* Histories have not so much as mentioned the Terms of this Treaty; though it was the principal Hinge upon which the Affairs of *Europe* afterwards turned. Lord *Bolingbroke* was sensible of this, and says, that "By this Treaty, the Superiority of the House of *Bourbon* over the House of *Austria*, was not only completed and confirmed; but the great Design of uniting the *Spanish* and *French* Monarchies under the former

former was laid ;" which have cost all *Europe* so much A. D. Blood and Treasure to prevent. However, the judicious Mr. *Voltaire* observes, " Such is the Vicissitude of all human Affairs, that even not two Articles now subsist of this famous *Pyrenean Treaty*." But King *Charles* made this long Journey to little Purpose : For *Mazarine* positively denied him Access ; and told the Duke of *Ormond* plainly, " That all his Master could do for his Cousin the King of *England*, was to compaffionate his Misfortunes ; as not being in a Condition himself to break with the Government of *England*, with which his Affairs obliged him to keep a good Correspondence." Besides this Neglect, King *Charles* had the Mortification to see *Lockhart* received, as Ambassador from the Commonwealth, with the greatest Pomp and Splendor ; having the right Hand given him by *Mazarine*, which was a Respect he denied the Ambassadors of crowned Heads. The *Spanish* Minister received the King with all possible Marks of Respect, and expressed a Sense of his unhappy Condition, by making him a Present of Seven Thousand Pistoles, or about 5800*l.* Sterling : But when the King asked the Command of the *Spanish* Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the Treaty obliged to quit, the *Spanish* Minister refused it. " All which, says Doctor *Welwood*, will be a lasting Example to Posterity, How little Trust is to be reposed in foreign Aid, when a Prince comes to need it for recovering his Throne." The King, on this Disappointment, left *Fontarabia*, and returned to *Brussel*s the latter End of December, where he received farther Hopes from the Assistance of General *Monk* in *Scotland*, and the Confusions in *England*, which happily conspired to his Restoration.

GENERAL *Monk* was at the Head of 12000 Veterans in *Scotland*, who were regularly paid from *England*. *Monk* was equally caressed by the Army and Parliament ; because they either wanted or feared him ; and he was equally jealous of both : But it was not prudent for him to observe a Neutrality, and he determined to side with the Parliament. He intended to march into

England,

A. D. England, to restore the *Rump* first, next the Presbyterian
1659. Parliament, and then the King ; For which he began
to make his Preparations, by modelling his Army, and
entering into a Combination with the *English* Presbyterians, who placed their Confidence in Lord Fairfax.

It is true, that when *Richard Cromwell* was deprived of the Government, General *Monk*, and 25 of his principal Officers, sent a long Address to the Parliament in Favour of a Commonwealth, without the King, a single Person, or House of Lords : But it should be considered, that he at first joined the Republicans only to free himself from a Confinement for restoring the King. He found it convenient to comply a while with the Times, till, by declaring for a free Parliament, he made Way for the Restoration ; conducting himself in a Manner that would have done Honour to the greatest Genius of those Times : For his Conduct was so impenetrable, that neither the Parliament, the Presbyterians, or Royalists, knew what were his real Intentions ; though they all considered him as the Arbiter of the Fate of *England*. He knew he was hated both by *Lambert* and *Fleetwood* ; who sent Colonel *Cobbe* into *Scotland*, to seduce his Officers, and put him under Arrest : But he evaded such Snares ; and then openly declared his Resolution of marching into *England*, to restore the Parliament : Though he knew, if they regained their Power over the Army, he must be displaced.

THE Committee of Safety sent Doctor *Clarges*, who was Brother-in-Law to General *Monk*, with Proposals to bring him to some Agreement : But they could not choose a worse Messenger than *Clarges*, whose sole Aim was to serve the King ; and who had discovered to *Monk* the Plot for arresting him by *Cobbe*. The General was making his Preparations to enter *England*, when *Clarges* arrived in *Scotland* ; and it was agreed between them to accept of the Proposals, that *Monk* might gain Time to get his Army in Readiness, which was then dispersed in several distant Parts of *Scotland*. The Committee of Safety dreaded the Preparations of *Monk*, and *Lambert* was sent into the North with 7000 Horse to watch

watch his Motions: While *Monk* sent Colonel *Wilks*, A. D., Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloberry*, and Major *Knight*, to treat with the Committee; but with such Instructions as he thought might raise insurmountable Obstacles to the Conclusion of a Treaty, as he particularly demanded that the Parliament should be restored.

THESE Commissioners met *Lambert* at *York*, who was not sufficiently empowered to treat with them: Upon which they proceeded to *London*, and, on the 15th of November, concluded a Treaty with *The Committee of Safety*: but *Monk* refused to ratify it, and thereby rendered himself more suspected. The Parliament believed that *Monk* only intended their Restitution, and considered his Friends as their own. The Presbyterians knew more of his Intentions, and probably stipulated some Conditions previous to the Restoration, which they were now endeavouring to accomplish. And the Members who formed *the late Council of State* privately assembled, and sent *Monk* a Commission, constituting him General of the Armies of the three Kingdoms.

MONK was disappointed in attempting to surprize *Newcastle*; and *Lambert* advanced as far as *Penrith*; but was restrained from deciding all by the Sword by *the Committee of Safety*, who thought of accommodating every Thing by a Negotiation; which was spinning a Net for themselves. For Colonel *Whetstone*, Governor of *Portsmouth*, a Friend to *Monk*, declared for the Parliament; Vice-Admiral *Lawson* did the same, and entered the *Thames* with several of his Ships, to awe the Adherents of the Committee: Lord *Brogbil*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, also brought the Army in *Ireland* to declare for the Parliament: The *Londoners* made some Insurrections on that Account: The Counties in general were discontented: And the *Wallingford-House* Party were lost among their own Dissentions. *Hastings*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, advanced from *Portsmouth* to *London*; which threw *Fleetwood*, and the Rest of *the Committee of Safety*, in the utmost Perplexity, as their Troops revolted to the Parliament, and they had not so much as a single Company to obey their Orders. *Whitelock* advised *Fleetwood*

A. D. ~~1659.~~ either to head the Army or agree with the King: ~~1659.~~ But the whole Party were in such Confusion, that they voluntarily resigned their usurped Authority, and consented to the Meeting of the Parliament. Monk consulted with Lord Fairfax how to conduct himself, who promised to raise *Yorkshire* in his Favour; and soon appeared at *Marston-Moor*, with about 100 Gentlemen and their Servants: but he still maintained such Credit with the Army, that the *Irish* Brigades, consisting of 1200 Men, deserted *Lambert*, and joined *Fairfax*, who declared for a free Parliament. This occasioned *Lambert* to retreat, and march back towards *London*: But his Army mouldered away, and he was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*. Sir *Henry Vane*, and some other Members of Parliament, who had taken Part with the Army, were confined to their Houses; while some of the imprisoned Royalists were released. In this Manner the *Rump* Parliament were restored before General *Monk* quitted *Scotland*: Which was the first Scene for the Restoration of the King in *England*; though as little expected by the Parliament, as the late Revolution in the Council.

THE *Rump* Parliament, being thus unexpectedly restored, met peaceably on the 26th of *December*, and appointed a Committee to govern the Army under their Authority. The Officers and Soldiers, who but lately were the most active against the *Rump*, were now most forward in its Service, and submitted to all its Orders, as if the Members of the House had been so many Generals of the Army. *Monk* was confirmed in his Power; and, on the 31st of *December*, a new Council of State was appointed, consisting of twenty-one Members, and ten that were not. Among the former were Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *Morley*, *Wallop*, *Walton*, and *St. John*. Among the latter were Lord *Fairfax*, General *Monk*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and Vice-Admiral *Lawson*. After which, the House resolved upon an Oath for abjuring the Royal Family, and against the Government of a single Person; which was to be taken by the Council of State, and Members of Parliament.

THIS

THIS was the joyful Year that renewed the *old Constitution*, and destroyed Tyranny ; placed an exiled Monarch upon the Throne ; and confirmed an injured People in their Liberties. While the restored Parliament was beginning to renew its Authority in *England*, General Monk assembled a Kind of Convention of Estates in *Scotland*, who granted him 30,000*l.* and offered to raise him 20,000 men, to enable him to carry on his Designs. He accepted the Money, and refused the Troops : But was obliged to carry his Dissimulation to Excess, for Fear his secret Intentions of serving the King should be betrayed, before he had brought his Plan to Maturity : for, though the King was acquainted with his Designs, they were secreted even from Chancellor *Hyde*, in whom *Monk* placed no Confidence.

IT was the 2d of *January*, when General *Monk* entered *England*, at the Head of 6000 Men ; leaving the other Part of his Army to preserve the Tranquility of *Scotland*. The Parliament acquainted him they were in peaceable Possession of their Authority, thanked him for his Services, and desired he might save himself the Trouble of coming to *London*. But it is plain, that the Restitution of the Parliament was not his ultimate Scheme, which he concealed by getting his Officers to subscribe a formal Declaration and Engagement against Monarchy, and the Family of the *Stewarts* ; as also against the Government of a single Person, and House of Peers.

LORD *Fairfax* opened the Gates of *York* to General *Monk*, whose Army was augmented by that which had deserted from *Lambert*. *Monk* offered to resign the chief Command to *Fairfax*, who refused it, and pressed the General to declare for a free Parliament. The Parliament strongly suspected the General either intended to renew the Protectorate of *Cromwell*, or to restore the King, and sent two of their Members on a Pretence of returning him their Thanks ; but in reality to observe his Proceedings. The General advanced towards *London* ; and, in his March, received many Addresses.

A. D. dresses, from the City of *London*, and other Places, to 1660. restore a free Parliament, and allow the Re-admission of the secluded Members in 1648, whereby the Presbyterians, who were the Majority of the Kingdom, might resume the Reins of Government. *Monk* returned a general Answer to all these Addresses, by saying he would lay them before the Parliament, to which he professed an entire Devotion.

THE Parliament had an Army of 10,000 Men about *London*; but were more jealous of them than of *Monk*, whose Interest it was to foment a Disunion between the *Rump* and their own Forces. When he came to *St. Alban's*, he prevailed upon the Parliament to remove some of their Regiments from *London*, that convenient Quarters might be made for his own: and, on the 3d of *February*, he entered *London* in a triumphal Manner. He then told *Ludlow*, "They must live and die in, by, and for a Commonwealth:" But refused to take the Oath of Abjuration, and was therefore denied Admittance into the Council of State.

ON the 6th of *February*, he went to the Parliament, and received the Thanks of the House from the Mouth of the Speaker; to which he returned an Answer, desiring they would equally beware of the Cavalier and Fanatic Parties; lessen the Taxes in *Ireland*; and prosecute the intended Union with *Scotland*. This Speech increased the Suspicions of the Parliament, and they were determined to try his Fidelity, by ordering him to march into the City of *London*, and compel the Citizens to pay the monthly Assessment which they had refused. *Monk* obeyed their Order in arresting some of the Common-Council, and pulling down the Gates of the City; after which, he returned with his Troops to *Whitehall*, without receiving any Order from the Parliament; but he was soon sensible that he was guilty of an Error in embroiling himself with the Citizens, which he endeavoured to remedy.

ABOUT the same Time, *Praise God Barebone* presented a Petition to the Parliament, that the Oath of Abjuration might be taken by all Persons without Exception;

tion ; for which he received the Thanks of the House. A. D. 1662. But *Monk* reconciled himself with the Magistracy of *London* ; and peremptorily demanded of the *Rump*, that they would declare a Period to their Sitting, and make Room for a full and free Parliament. The Citizens loudly testified their Joy, now *Monk* had thrown off the Mask ; and numberless *Rumps* of all Sorts of Animals were roasted at the Bonfires, in Contempt of the spiritless Parliament, which meanly courted the Favour of *Monk*, when they found he despised their Power.

GENERAL *Monk* was determined to restore the secluded Members, after making them engage to call a free Parliament, and consent to their own Dissolution. On the 21st of *February*, he sent a Guard from *Whitehall*, to conduct the secluded Members to the House, where they took their Seats without any previous Notice to the sitting Members. The *Rump* consisted of only about fifty sitting Members ; and those who came to take their Seats were about eighty, who instantly repealed all Votes that were to their Prejudice ; voted *Monk* to be Captain-General of the Land Forces of the three Kingdoms ; and *Lawson* to be continued Vice-Admiral of the naval Forces. Thus the *Rump* Parliament was broke ; which was the second Scene for the Restoration of the King.

A NEW Council of State was appointed consisting of thirty-one Members ; who were General *Monk*, *William Pierpoint*, *John Crew*, Colonel *Roffiter*, *Richard Knightley*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Lord Chief Justice *St. John*, Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*, Sir *John Temple*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Richard Onslow*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Montague*, Col. *Edward Harley*, Col. *Richard Norton*, *Arthur Annesly*, *Denzil Holles*, Colonel *George Thompson*, *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Col. *John Birch*, Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, *John Swinfin*, *John Weaver*, and Serjeant *Maynard*. Many of these Gentlemen were Royalists ; and the Restoration of the King was now looked upon to be the best Expedient for settling

A. D. the Government: but this Restoration seemed as if it 1660. would be attended with some Difficulties.

THE Sectarists thought that the most rigid Terms ought to be imposed upon the King to prevent any Abuse of the Prerogative: Those of moderate Principles were for some Limitations: While the warm Royalists thought that no Means could be too gentle, and would have him in the same Condition his Father would have been in, if he had prevailed in the War against the Parliament. It was proposed, by the Peers, that the Treaty with the late King at the Isle of *Wight*, should be the Basis of a Negotiation with his Son; and this would have been pursued, if the Limitations had been settled. But the Presbyterians wanted to impose Conditions that were too strict about Church Government; as also to proscribe the Royalists Abroad, and prohibit those at Home from coming near the King. *Monk* was a Presbyterian; but it was generally agreed, that it was better to have the King upon any Terms, than to run the Hazard of ruining the Nation by obstinately persisting in Disputes about Limitations.

ALL the State Prisoners were released from Confinement: The Votes made against the secluded Members, since the 16th of December 1648, were annulled: The Oath of Abjuration was repealed: All Commissions granted to the Republicans were revoked; and the Engagement against the House of Peers was abrogated. Lastly, the long Parliament dissolved themselves on the 16th of March, after having continued in several Forms about nineteen Years: And a new one was summoned to, meet the 25th of April; when the Peers were to be restored, which was the third Step for restoring the King.

THE Council of State assumed the Administration of the Government 'till the Meeting of the free, or constitutional Parliament; and took Care to separate the Army, so as to have the best affected Troops about London: "By which Conduct, says *Burnet*, it was, that the great Turn was brought about, without the least Tumult or Bloodshed: For a Nation that had run on long

long in a fierce Opposition to the Royal Family, was now turned as one Man, to call Home the King." The ¹⁶⁶⁰ Town of *Hull* was delivered up by *Overton* to Colonel *Fairfax*; while Colonel *Redman* reduced *Shrewsbury*, *Chester*, *Denbigh*, and *Carnarvon Castle*; which broke the Neck of the fanatical Party. They vainly endeavoured to prevail upon *Monk* to usurp the Authority of *Cromwell*: Though, according to Mr. *Locke*, " *Monk* had agreed with the *French* Ambassador, to take the Government upon himself, and was promised Assistance from Cardinal *Mazarine*: But that *Monk*'s Wife heard all that passed, and sent immediate Notice of it by her Brother *Clarges*, to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who put an End to the Scheme, and got *Monk* to model the Army in such a Manner, that it was no longer at his Devotion." However, it appears, by more impartial Accounts, that the King was convinced of the Loyalty, and satisfied with the Conduct of *Monk*, who prevailed upon him to remove to *Breda*, for fear he should be detained at *Brussels* by the *Spaniards*; where he received Applications from all Parties in *England*; and every Thing was concerting for his Restoration, under the Advice and Direction of *Monk*, who had settled Matters with Sir *John Granville*, for that Purpose.

As the Honour of re-establishing the Monarchy was reserved for this eminent Man, it will be proper to give a farther Account of his Character. His Name was *George Monk*, and he was the second Son of an ancient and honourable Family in *Devonshire*, which of late had fallen to decay, by supporting a generous Hospitality. He made Arms his Profession while a Youth, and was engaged in the unfortunate Expeditions to *Cadiz*, and the *Isle of Rhee*. He commanded a Company under Lord *Goring*, and sought for military Experience in the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, which were then considered as the great School of War to all the *European* Nations, as *Bacotia* was once among the *Grecians*. He returned to *England* when it began to be disturbed with the Sound of Civil-war, and was employed by the Earl of *Leicester* against the *Irish* Rebels. He soon obtained a Regiment;

A. D. and was so much beloved by the Soldiers, for his good 1660. Nature and Familiarity, that they usually called him *honest George Monk*: Which was an Appellation they continued to pay him when he was elevated to the highest Command. Though he was a Presbyterian, he was remarkable for his Moderation in Party. He was taken Prisoner among the *Irish Forces*, when *Fairfax* defeated *Biron* at *Nantwich*. *Monk* was then sent to the *Tower*, and could not recover his Liberty 'till the Royalists were totally subdued. He was then prevailed upon by *Cromwell* to engage with the Parliament; which obliged him both to fight against the *Marquis of Ormond* in *Ireland*, and against the King himself in *Scotland*. He was entrusted by *Cromwell* with the chief Command of the Forces in *Scotland*, which he preserved by cultivating the Friendship of his Officers, and the Affections of his Men. *Lambert* was his Rival, but was unsuccessful in all his Attempts to subvert the Authority of *Monk*, whose early Services were devoted to the Royal Family, and whose Transition to Loyalty, was open and easy in the Decline of his Life, when he had little Ambition to gratify. His Loyalty was afterwards equalled by his Bravery; and he wore the highest Honours, which he justly deserved.

WHILE every Thing was so favourable to the King, *Lambert* made his Escape out of the *Tower*, on the 9th of *April*, and put himself at the Head of some discontented Troops in *Hertfordshire*.

THIS Accident might have been attended with ill Consequences, if it had not been speedily remedied by *Monk*, and the Council of State, who were thrown into the greatest Confusion. They were sensible of the great Popularity which *Lambert* had acquired among the Soldiers, notwithstanding he had been lately deserted by them. They knew his Abilities, and dreaded his Activity; especially as they apprehended he would be joined by all the Republicans, who were very numerous in the Army. *Lambert* had actually assembled seven or eight Troops of Horse, and one Company of Foot, according to *Phillips*: But *Whitelock* says, he had only four Troops

Troops of Horse. He was joined by some old Officers A. D. who had distinguished themselves under *Cromwell* : All 1660. the Roads were full of disaffected Soldiers, hastening to strengthen his Party, and inflamed with Resentment at the false Professions which had been made them by *Monk*, who was afraid to assemble any considerable Body of the Republican Army for their Suppression. It was expected, that *Lambert* would have made himself very formidable in a few Days ; and it was necessary to oppose him with the utmost Celerity. Colonel *Ingoldsby* was sent against this dangerous Enemy, at the Head of *Monk's* own Regiment. He had been named one of the late King's Judges ; but was now entirely engaged in the Royal Cause. He took some other Troops in his Way, and came up with *Lambert*, on the 22d of *April*, at *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*. *Lambert* was immediately deserted by one Troop ; another soon followed the Example ; and most of the Remainder were taken Prisoners, without Opposition. *Lambert* himself was seized by *Ingoldsby*, as he was endeavouring to make his Escape. *Okey*, *Axtel*, *Cobbet*, *Crede*, and other Officers, were also taken Prisoners, and conducted to *London*, where *Lambert* was again confined to the Tower, whereby this dangerous Insurrection was suppressed, and *Monk* left at Liberty to complete the Restoration. *Lambert* was afterwards excepted from the general Indemnity by the King ; and, in 1662, was tried with Sir *Henry Vane*, for acting under the Protectorate : He was condemned to die, but was reprieved at the Bar, and was banished for Life to the Isle of *Guernsey*, where he lived in Oblivion, forgot by his Friends, and no longer regarded by his Enemies. *Okey* and *Cobbet*, were two of the Regicides who fled abroad : But they were seized in *Holland* in 1662 ; and executed in *England*.

IT was reported that the King was a Papist ; as also that the Royalists would revenge themselves on the Enemies to his Family : But his Majesty had many Friends to vindicate him from the Suspicions of Popery, whatever they knew, or thought, themselves ;

A. D. selves ; and the Royalists publickly declared their 1660. peaceable Intentions ; so that every Thing was now ripe for the Restoration, when the Republicans made another Attempt to prevent it, just before the Meeting of Parliament.

A forged Letter from *Brussels*, was dispersed about *London*, in which it was confidently asserted, that the King only waited his Restoration, to be severely revenged upon all his Opposers ; and that his Party was preparing to put them all to the Sword. The Dispersion of this Letter occasioned some Mischief : Upon which the Lords, and some other Royalists, to the Number of Seventy Persons, signed and published a Declaration, wherein they disavowed the Intentions ascribed to them ; and protested, that their Design was to live peaceably, without any Thoughts of Revenge upon the Authors of their Sufferings. This satisfied the Jealous, and pacified the Discontented : But, when the Restoration was accomplished, the Royalists levelled their Resentment as much against the co-operating Presbyterians, as against the most violent Sectarists.

THE new Parliament assembled on the 25th of April, in the two Houses of Lords and Commons, agreeable to the ancient *Constitution*, which only wanted the Presence of the King to render it compleat. *Edward Montague*, Earl of *Manchester*, was chosen Speaker for the Lords, and *Sir Harbottle Grimstone* for the Commons : The former having been always attached to the King ; though the latter had some Time concurred with the Parliament. The King had most Friends among the Lords ; and many Royalists were elected in the House of Commons, notwithstanding the Vote to the contrary. Most of the Presbyterian Members were as zealous as the Royalists, for Restoring the King ; though not so much out of Affection to him, as to deliver the Kingdom from the Dominion of the Independents and Fanatics, and from the Tyranny of the Army, which had continued Twelve Years. But some Presbyterians, who were not in the Secret, were inclined to complain, and moved for an Examination

Examination of the Elections ; which only served to make them as particular Objects of Resentment to the new Ministry. A. D. 1660.

THE great Dangers incurred during the former usurpations, joined to the extreme Caution of the General, kept the Parliament in such Awe, that every one was afraid to make any Mention of the King. The Members chiefly exerted their Spirit in bitter Invectives against the Memory of *Cromwell*, and in Execrations upon the inhuman Murder of their late Sovereign. When *Monk* had sufficiently sounded their Inclinations, he told some of the principal Members, that the Presence of the King must be immediate, to keep the Faction in Peace, who were not suppressed, though they were disarmed. He observed, that the Parliament might bind the King down to Conditions after his Restoration, as well as in his Exile ; especially as he brought neither Army nor Treasure with him. He then gave Directions to *Annesley*, the President of the Council, to inform the Parliament, that Sir *John Granville* had been sent over by his Majesty, and waited at the Door with a Letter to the Commons. This occasioned a general Joy, and *Granville* was immediately called into the House, where he delivered the Letter, accompanied with a Declaration, which were instantly read. A Committee was appointed to present a dutiful Answer ; and the Letter and Declaration were ordered to be published, that the Nation might enjoy the same Satisfaction as the Parliament. A general Pleasure was spread over the Kingdom ; and Traditions remain of Men who died with Excess of Joy at this happy and surprizing Event.

THE King also sent Letters to the House of Lords, the Magistracy of *London*, the Army, and the Fleet. He congratulated the Lords on having their Authority again acknowledged, which belonged to them by their Birth ; and hoped they would make Use of it for the public Good, for composing the Distractions of the Kingdom, and for restoring him to his just Prerogatives, the Parliament to their Privileges, and the People to their

A. D. their Liberties. He also sent a Letter to Monk, with a Commission for constituting him Captain-General of all the Forces. All these Letters were to the same Purport as his Majesty's Declaration, which was dated at Breda, the 14th of April; and is necessary to be inserted at large; because the Presbyterians looked upon it as a Kind of Covenant with them, for the Share they had in the Restoration.

THE King addressed this Declaration, " To all his loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting.

" If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a Desire and Longing, that those Wounds which have so many Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no Purpose: However, after this long Silence, we have thought it our Duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto: And that as we can never give over the hope, in good Time to obtain the Possession of that Right, which God and Nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in Compassion to us and our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable Possession of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to our People as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is theirs, by a full and entire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending our Mercy where 'tis wanted and deserved.

" AND to the End that Fear of Punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a Perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country, in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People, to their just, ancient, and fundamental Rights; we do by these Presents declare, That we do grant a

" Free

“ Free and General Pardon, which we are ready, A. D.
“ upon Demand, to pass under our Great Seal of Eng- 1660.
“ land, to all our Subjects of what Degree or Quality
“ soever, who, within forty Days after the publishing
“ hereof, shall lay hold upon this our Grace and Fa-
“ vour, and shall by any public Act declare their do-
“ ing so, and that they return to the Loyalty and O-
“ bedience of good Subjects, excepting only such Per-
“ sons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament:
“ Those only excepted, Let all our Subjects, how
“ faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King, so-
“lemnly given by this present Declaration, That no
“ Crime whatsoever, committed against us, or our
“ Royal Father, before the Publication of this, shall
“ ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in Question a-
“ gainst any of them, to the least Endamagement of
“ them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or
“ (as far forth as lies in our Power) so much as to the
“ Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach, or
“ Terms of Distinction from the Rest of our best Sub-
“ jects; we desiring and ordaining, That henceforward
“ all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of
“ Parties, be utterly abolished among all our Subjects,
“ whom we invite and conjure to a perfect Union a-
“ mong themselves, under our Protection, for the Re-
“ settlement of our just Rights and theirs, in a Free
“ Parliament, by which, upon the Word of a King,
“ we will be advised.

“ AND because the Passion and Uncharitableness of
“ the Times have produced several Opinions in Reli-
“ gion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and
“ Animosities against each other, which, when they
“ shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Conversation,
“ will be composed, or better understood; We do de-
“clare a Liberty to tender Consciences; and that no
“ Man shall be disquieted, or called in Question for
“ Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which
“ do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and that
“ we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Par-
“ liament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be of-
“ fered.

A. D. 1660. " fered unto us, for the full granting that Indulgence.
 " AND because in the continued Distractions of so
 " many Years, and so many and great Revolutions,
 " many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been
 " made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others,
 " who are now possessed of the same, and who may
 " be liable to Actions at Law, upon several Titles ;
 " we are likewise willing, that all such Differences and
 " all Things relating to such Grants, Sales, and Pur-
 " chases, shall be determined in Parliament, which
 " can best provide for the just Satisfaction of all Men
 " who are concerned.

" AND we do further declare, that we will be ready
 " to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament, to the
 " Purposes aforesaid, and for the full Satisfaction of
 " all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the
 " Army under the Command of General Monk, and
 " that they shall be received into our Service, upon as
 " good Pay and Conditions as they now enjoy."

THE Parliament immediately voted, " That, according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, the Government was, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." They also voted, that 50,000*l.* should be presented to his Majesty ; 10,000*l.* to the Duke of York ; and 10,000*l.* to the Duke of Gloucester ; who had never been Masters of such Sums before. The Commons also ordered, that all those Acts and Orders which were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, should be erased out of their Journals. Monk managed the Army ; and Montague the Navy. The King received Addresses of Congratulation and Loyalty. He was proclaimed in London, on the 8th of May, with great Solemnity ; and, on the 11th, the Parliament and City sent Commissioners to wait upon him at the Hague. On the 23d, he embarked, with his two Brothers, on board the English Fleet, commanded by Admiral Montague, and arrived at Dover on the 25th, where he was met by General Monk, attended with most of the Nobility, and many

of the principal Gentlemen. On the 29th, which was A. D. his Birth-Day, his Majesty made a magnificent Entry 1660. into London, and arrived at Whiteball amid the loudest Acclamations of an infinite Multitude of People.

THUS *Charles* the Second was restored to his Kingdoms, eleven Years after the Death of his Father; and after he had been eight Years an Exile in foreign Countries. Episcopacy followed Royalty; and, as the Constitution of the Nation was renewed, the Liberties of the People *ought* to have been secured. But the King saw himself restored, without any of the Conditions which had caused so long a War, and so great an Emission of Blood. "This, says *Burnet*, was the great "Service *Monk* did." He censures that great Man; and farther says, "To the King's coming in without Conditions, may be well imputed all the Errors of his Reign;" and, it may be added, many Mischiefs that followed afterwards. Yet Doctor *Welwood* observes, that, "as *Monk* was singularly happy in being the chief Instrument of the Restoration, he was no less in the Sense King *Charles* continued to express of so great an Obligation: And it shewed him to be a Man of true Judgment, that the Duke of *Albemarle* behaved himself in such a Manner to the Prince he had thus obliged, as never to seem to over-value the Services of General *Monk*."

It is worthy of Observation, that several Poets of extraordinary Genius, flourished in these unhappy Times of the Civil Wars; as if Learning was to be introduced into England when *Charles* the Second ascended the Throne, in the same Manner as the Arts were invited to Rome, under the Auspices of *Augustus*, when the Temple of *Janus* was closed, and the peaceful Olive was springing in every Climate. *Waller* and *Cowley* are Names too well known to be mentioned here, either for their Loyalty to the King, or Improvement of the Language. *Milton* was the Excellence of Human Nature: He obliged his Countrymen with the early Part of their History: But the World is indebted to him for his *Paradise Lost*; and, if he had acted up to the Character

own *Abiel*, he never could have Honour enough
to his Memory ; so Peace to his Ashes ! But Mr.
Butler, the Author of the incomparable Poem of
as, is sure most worthy of Regard, “ who had
opportunit to converse with those living Characters
hellion, Nonsense, and Hypocrisy, which he so
and pathetically exposes throughout the whole
Worl.” But, notwithstanding all his Merit, the Fate
of Butler was extremely severe ; because he lived uni-
versally admired, and died unrewarded for his Services
to a Court, equally remarkable for its Politeness and
Imprudence.

WHEN Oliver expir'd, his timid Son
Declin'd the Government his Father won :
The Army rose superior to the Law,
And kept the servile Parliament in Awe.

THE Rump is now restor'd : again prevails
Blind Anarchy ; and Justice drops her Scales.
Lambert destroys the Rump : while Monk unites
With noble Fairfax, for the Regal Rights.
Illustrious Chieftains ! Patriots ever dear ;
Equal to guide in Council, or in War ;
To you, Britannia does her Safety own ;
As Charles returns, in Glory, to his Crown.

Now, the fair Olive blooms within our Isle ;
Peace forms her Garland ; Plenty beams her Smile.
The Muses warble forth their vary'd Lay ;
And, hither, Science bends her hallow'd Way.
The graceful Arts, Britannia's Shore resort ;
And Commerce heaps her Store in every Port.

16 MA 64

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.

